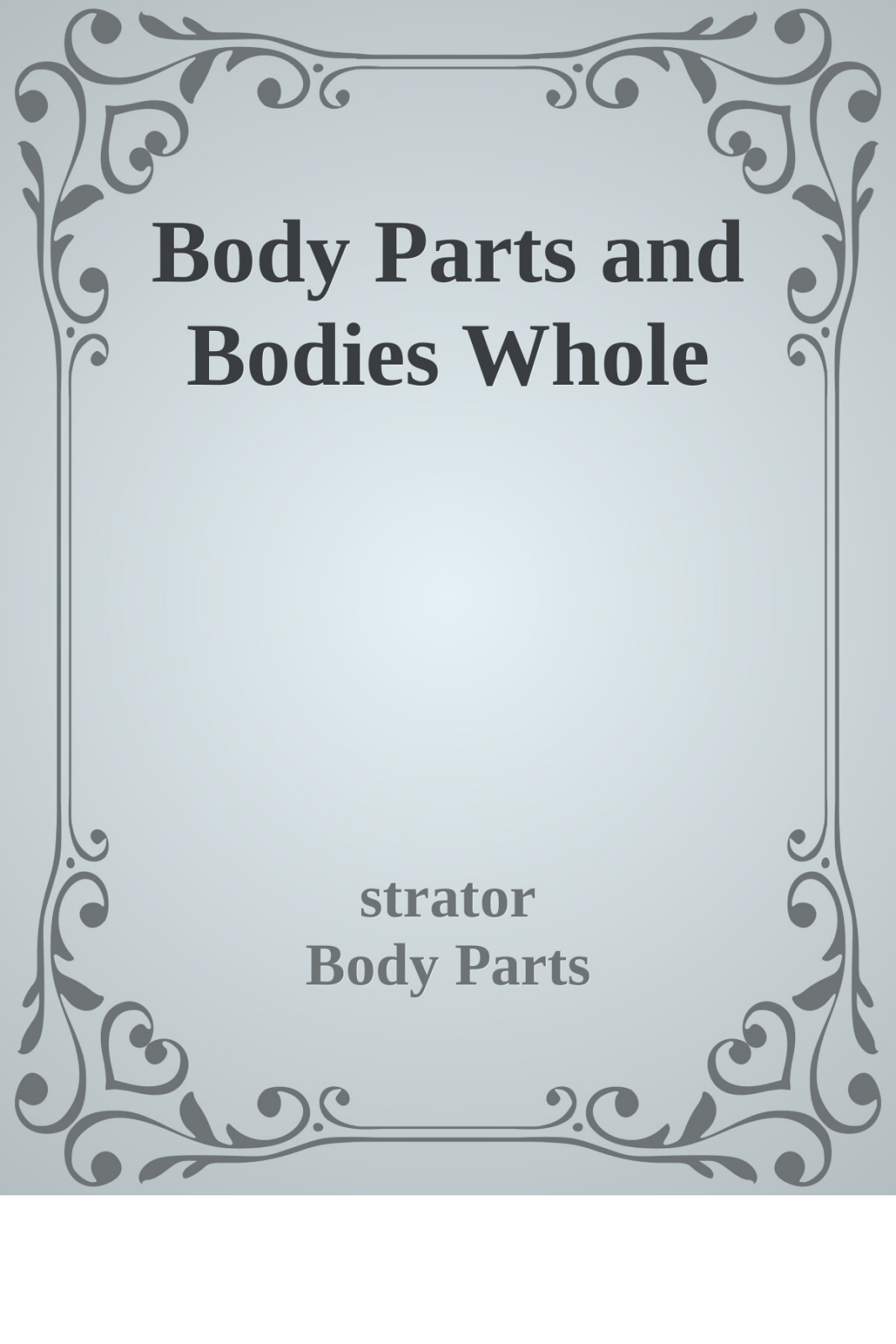


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BODY PARTS AND BODIES WHOLE



Katharina Rebay-Salisbury, Marie Louise Stig Sørensen
and Jessica Hughes

BODY PARTS AND BODIES WHOLE
CHANGING RELATIONS AND MEANINGS

Edited by
Katharina Rebay-Salisbury, Marie Louise Stig Sørensen
and Jessica Hughes

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Ex-Votos 2003

In *Ex-Votos – Men and Women* the heads are filled with the shards of past abandoned works, now destroyed as whole entities but reduced to indestructible fragments, which contain evidence of histories and memories. This work, which developed into a larger scale floor piece, made reference to the ancient practice of gifts to the gods in exchange for healing and was informed by an interest in the parallels between archaeology and psychoanalysis where layers are carefully stripped away to uncover knowledge. Referencing the cataloguing and classification of museum artefacts, each head was marked in black with dollar or yens signs to indicate their timeless worth and the making method of casting and press moulding refers to the patterns and repetitions in human life. *Ex-Votos* was part of a larger series of work entitled *Between the Dog and the Wolf* which explored metamorphoses and change.

Christie Brown

1. Body Parts and Bodies Whole: Introduction

Katharina Rebay-Salisbury, Marie Louise Stig Sørensen and Jessica Hughes

Several human heads lay in the corner of a room, surrounded by small ceramic fragments, their necks broken (Fig. 1.1). The viewer who chances upon this scene is immediately implicated in formulating a narrative. When and how were these ceramic heads shattered? Was it an accident, or an intentional act of violence? On closer inspection, the heads seem to have been carefully and deliberately arranged: their blank gazes follow the same axis of vision, while the smaller terracotta fragments are gathered into neat little piles at the bases of their necks hinting at the former existence of more parts. This trace of an unseen agent intensifies the viewer's search for meaning. Who do these heads represent? What relationship do they bear to one another? Our impulse to identify individual 'portraits' is renounced by the identical clay faces, each of which wears the same benign expression. The message that the heads communicate is that they belong *together*: they are 'parts' of the (whole) group, as much as they are parts of the (absent) bodies from which they have – apparently – been removed.



Fig. 1.1: *Ex-Votos – Men and Women* (detail; photo courtesy of Christie Brown).

This intriguing scene is the creation of Christie Brown, a London-based artist whose sculptures engage with archaeology, mythology and psychoanalysis. Brown's description of the work reveals how both the heads and smaller fragments recall – or literally embody – past objects and practices:

In *Ex-Votos – Men and Women* the heads are filled with the shards of past abandoned works, now destroyed as whole entities but reduced to indestructible fragments, which contain evidence of histories and memories. This work, which developed into a larger scale floor piece, made reference to the ancient practice of gifts to the gods in exchange for healing and was informed by an interest in the parallels between archaeology and psychoanalysis where layers are carefully stripped away to uncover knowledge. Referencing the cataloguing and classification of museum artefacts, each head was marked in black with dollar or yen signs to indicate their timeless worth and the making method of casting and press moulding refers to the patterns and repetitions in human life. *Ex-Votos* was part of a larger series of work entitled *Between the Dog and the Wolf* which explored metamorphoses and change (*Christie Brown, pers. comm.*).

This piece of contemporary art caught our attention because it dramatises a number of the themes that we wanted to investigate in this volume on body parts and bodies whole. Archaeologists routinely encounter parts of human and animal bodies in their excavations, as well as broken inorganic material. Such fragmentary evidence has often been created through accidental damage and the passage of time – nevertheless, it can also signify a deliberate and meaningful act of fragmentation. As a fragment a part may acquire a distinct meaning through its enchainment relationship to the whole or alternatively it may be used in a more straightforward manner to represent the whole or even act as stand-in for other variables. In recent years, the volume of literature helping to make sense of this kind of evidence has grown, with much of the scholarship directly focussing on the *body* in pieces coming from a range of humanities and social science disciplines. For instance, an important volume edited by David Hillman and Carla Mazzio collected together body parts

that were scattered through literary and cultural texts of early modern Europe (1997), Jonathan Sawday's landmark study of *The Body Emblazoned* focused on anatomical dissection in the same period (1995), while Linda Nochlin's (2001) *The Body in Pieces* has provided an overview of cropped, mutilated and ruined bodies in the art of the eighteenth century (cf. also Petrone and D'Onofrio 2004, Bynum 1991, Pinget 1990).

Within archaeology, John Chapman's work in particular has been concerned with the relationship between parts and whole. In his exploration of the relationship between whole and fragmented objects in the Balkan Neolithic (Chapman 2000), he suggested an interpretation of fragmentation in which social relations are built through a process of 'enchainment'. This theory posits that the breaking of an object does not automatically entail its loss; on the contrary, the parts of the broken object can become independently meaningful and play a role in a variety of contexts. For instance, the distribution of parts of things or bodies between people can function as a marker of social relations. This echoes work on dividual personhood, in particular the hugely influential work of Marilyn Strathern (1988). With Bissierka Gaydarska, John Chapman expanded his work on artefact fragmentation by further exploring the biography of objects and their lifecycle in the monograph *Parts and wholes* (2007). Meanwhile, in comparison with the fragmentation of objects, the relationship between body parts and body wholes seems to introduce new dimensions to the ways people and things may be enchainment. In particular, the impact of the life cycle including death and the challenges of the changeable body may inspire the construction of different conceptional frameworks which aim to confirm the character of the body or help in its transformation. From history and ethnography we have a wide range of examples showing how the body can be physically partitioned and transformed, how body parts may stand metonymically for whole bodies, or how parts may still be symbolically linked even when they are separated, or alternatively, how parts may be differentiated and their links to the whole severed. In all cases, body parts lose their original function when disarticulated from the whole, but at the same time they can acquire new meanings and significances.

In response, archaeological studies have begun to explore how body parts were circulated and may have played a role in the formation of social relations between deceased members of a community and between the dead and the living (Brück 2006, Brück 2009, Chapman 2000, Fowler 2001, Fowler 2002, Thomas 2000). Chris Fowler has recently taken the discussion further by defining and applying the concept of the fractal person more broadly to archaeology (Fowler 2008), and by comparing formal and structural similarities between bodies, substances and the environment to better understand the logical system in which bodies play a part.

These previous works have indicated something of the diversity of ways in which body parts and wholes can be presented and given meaning. By now it is commonly recognised that the image of the body in pieces does not necessarily indicate violence, death and poignant loss, but can communicate very different messages and be due to specific deliberate practices: body parts can stand metonymically for whole bodies, can function as objects of exchange, symbols of fertility, as well as proofs of ancestry and inheritance. In the same way, a variety of beliefs about where exactly human qualities and abilities are situated within the body exist, and these different cognitive body-maps inform cultural behaviour. In western culture, for instance, we often present the head as the locus of rationality and the heart as the locus of empathy.

The current volume expands on these ideas and approaches. *Body Parts and Bodies Whole* grew out of an interdisciplinary discussion held in the context of the Leverhulme-

funded project 'Changing Beliefs in the Human Body'. As we began to present the preliminary results of our research, the image of the body in pieces soon emerged as a potent site of attitudes about the body and associated practices in many periods. After several fruitful exchanges in our internal research seminars, we felt encouraged to open out the discussion to scholars working on other areas and with other kinds of contexts than our own. At a meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists at Zadar in September 2007, scholars from all over Europe, including Norway, Romania and Austria as well as the UK, participated in a session dedicated to this topic of body parts and bodies whole and their relationship to each other. Taking as its starting point the famous question of whether the whole is more than the sum of its parts, the session explored the juxtaposition between the human body as an integrated whole and a collection of pieces. But it did not satisfy itself with an abstract discourse on this relationship, rather it aimed to delve into how different contexts – diverse in their spatial, temporal and cultural characteristics – may question or rephrase the nature of these relationships and their implications for perceptions of the body. Most of the participants are contributors to this book, with a small number of new papers being added to ensure broader coverage.

This collection is different from previous work on body parts because it puts bodily fragmentation into a long-term historical perspective. As we saw above, many earlier studies of body parts focus on a single period, implicitly suggesting that the fragmentation of the body occurs uniquely or mainly at that particular point in history. At the same time, in the study of certain periods the fragmented body is very much pushed to the sidelines – students of classical antiquity, for instance, might be forgiven for thinking that the ancient Greek and Roman world was populated solely by impermeable, ideal bodies, since the art historical canon has traditionally excluded any evidence that speaks to the contrary. The temporal spread of the papers collected in this volume indicates both the *consistent importance and the varied perception* of body parts in the archaeological record of Europe and the Near East. By bringing these different case studies together, we hope to indicate how this fundamental practice might be explored with the aim of discovering changing beliefs about the relationship between body parts and bodies whole. Primarily, therefore, our aim is to encourage questioning of the status of the body in different cultural contexts.

Many of the following chapters deal directly with the physical remains of the dead body, but each case study brings a different insight to the role of body parts and body wholes. Amongst these, John Chapman's provides a scrutiny of Later Balkan Prehistory, where the manipulation of bodies and body parts (variously configured as fragmentation, removal, recombination, substitution and re-integration) was a regular social practice for the survivors of the prehistoric communities he studies. Jo Appleby brings a new perspective to our understanding of fragmentation as she uses burial evidence from the Early Bronze Age cemeteries of the Traisental in Lower Austria, to argue for the aging process as a process of fragmentation. Katharina Rebay-Salisbury focuses on cremation in Late Bronze and Early Iron Age central Europe; she uses this evidence to suggest that although cremation can be seen as a process of fragmentation, it does not necessarily destroy the sense of a bodily entity – the treatment of the burnt remains show the attempt to reconstitute the fragments as a whole body. Karina Croucher's discussion of Neolithic sites from the 'Near East' shows an emphasis on the constructions of new bodies in death through the use of objects or animal bones. This suggests that bodily integrity was challenged through explicit discourses on the body and identity. Kirsi Lorentz's chapter shows, by juxtaposing processes of bodily fragmentation in mortuary contexts and contemporary anthropomorphic depictions, how these were underpinned by fundamental concerns and social ideals in Chalcolithic Cyprus.

Estella Weiss-Krejci discusses the history and changing meanings of heart burial in post-medieval German-speaking Europe between the twelfth and the seventeenth century AD and reveals the explicit political dimension associated with the possession of body parts, whereas Annia Cherryson shows yet another attitude to the body. She demonstrates the attitudes to the body as a corpse and commodity, which shine through in the records on dissection, post-mortem surgery and the retention of body parts from the mid-eighteenth to the midnineteenth century in Britain, when human corpses became an integral part of medical teaching.

Other chapters in the volume take their starting point in the different ways in which body parts are represented visually or in other ways stressed or materialised. Marie Louise Stig Sørensen considers Bronze Age embodiment from the perspective of how the social body was constructed within a structural framework that can be linked to maps and coordinates, showing how various adornments and performances were used by people of the European Bronze Age to accentuate and divide their bodies. Nona Palincas, considering the ceramics from the Middle and Lower Danube, argues for a new interpretation based on perspectivism. Reviewing the compositional character of much of the ceramics where parts of bodies, animals, things and cosmological elements are combined, she argues for a Late Bronze Age perception of the world in which parts were interchangeable and in flux. Lotte Hedeager's paper also addresses human-animal imagery and the fusion between these two forms, but her paper is set in the Late Iron/Viking Age of Scandinavia. She uses decorative traditions to show different notions of personhood, and to argue that the human 'self' was a hybrid embodiment, which far exceeded the sum of its many different parts. Jessica Hughes also looks at human-animal hybrids, this time as they appear in Graeco-Roman literary and material culture. Moving away from notions of fusion and addition, she argues that these beasts might also be seen as inherently unstable beings, prone to collapse and disassembly. Meanwhile, the practices considered in Ian Armit's paper show how specific value and status may be granted to a particular part of the body, in this case the human head. He considers various practices in Iron Age Mediterranean France in which the detached head is used on its own. He discusses, for example, the sculptural representations of heads alongside human crania attached to monumental architecture, observing and theorising differences in how the image of the isolated head is treated over time.

Of course, the above division of the chapters into 'real' and 'represented' bodies is far from unproblematic. Whereas at one level we intuitively recognise human bones and ceramic vessels, as 'body' and as 'object', in reality the distinction is not so clear-cut and may be differently perceived in different cultural contexts. Objects and images can be, have, produce or modify bodies, while bodies can, in turn, be objects themselves. An obvious example of this continuous interplay is the crucifix in Christianity, a cross with the representation of Jesus' body. The cross became a powerful symbol of religion and power, embodying whole sets of meanings during the history of the church – with and without the representation of the body it has the power to evoke memories, emotion and devotion. To draw some examples from the pages of this volume Marie Louise Stig Sørensen's paper shows how objects can extend the body's capacity, whereas Nona Palincas' and Lotte Hedeager's papers show the fusion between bodies and other entities. The classical statue presents a normative ideal for bodies to aspire to, while an underlying aim of early medical dissection was to discover the 'standard body'. The dead body is also often treated as a material commodity and thus potentially also as a political and social resource. This is very clear in Estella Weiss-Krejci's chapter, where the hearts of prince-bishops were coveted, exchanged and stolen by monastic communities over Europe; in turn, Annia Cherryson

emphasises the practicalities of acquiring the corpses as a material resource for teaching. Finally, the often elaborate arrangement and display of dead bodies also blurs the boundary between reality and representation as Ian Armit strikingly shows in his description of the arrangement of the crania in the portico in Iron Age Gaul (Fig. 9.8).

The practices and representations covered in this volume confirm the sheer variability of treatments of the body throughout human history. At the same time, the juxtaposition of these different data sets reveals several interesting thematic overlaps. For instance, a number of the case studies can be tied into John Chapman's theory of enchainment. Jo Appleby's paper, for example, reads the fragmentation of the aging body as implicated in a process of temporal enchainment which serves to link communities with their ancestral past. Meanwhile, Estella Weiss-Krejci's detailed study of medieval heart burials shows bodies being fragmented and then dispersed to create invisible links, not only between the dead person and the place where the heart was buried, but also between the places which held the heart, the intestines and (the remainder of) the body. John Chapman's own paper shows how the fragmentation of the body served to create a specific kind of enchained personhood rather than simply the denial of individual identity.

Another recurring theme which can be read across the volume concerns the relationship between humans and animals. The chapters by Lotte Hedeager, Jessica Hughes and Nona Palinc  all deal with images that can be described as human and animal 'hybrids', although that term implies a structural distinction between humans and animals which may not have applied in all past societies. Indeed, Lotte Hedeager sees her Late Iron Age images as the product of a world in which man and animal were not clearly distinguished; Jessica Hughes, on the other hand, sees the classical images themselves as actively doing the cultural work of distinguishing, reinforcing and naturalising the boundaries between animals and men. The theme of human and animal relations also surfaces in other chapters which deal with body parts in the mortuary record. Karina Croucher, for instance, shows how the treatment of human bones in secondary burials was mirrored in treatment of animal bones and broken artefacts.

A number of the papers also draw our attention to the figure of the viewer, whose act of contemplating a body or an object can alter its meaning. What is revealed and what is concealed at any one moment depends on the viewer's position. Nona Palinc , for example, shows how viewing the Danube ceramics from different perspectives changes the object from a human to an animal representation. The narrative designs on Lotte Hedeager's Late Iron Age objects suggest intimate links to wider cosmological structures, while Kirsi Lorenz argues that the Cypriot figurines can be read in multiple ways, including viewing them as wholes and as single body parts. Similarly, the viewer's movement around a sarcophagus, or their turning-over of a vessel, can change what is seen from male to female, human to animal. All these examples remind us that the objects under consideration were deeply implicated with the bodies and the movements of their users as well as being parts of wider cultural practices.

These are just a few of the themes that can be read across the whole volume; there are many others, and the reader is invited to construct their own links between the various chapters and case studies. However, every one of the contributions shows how looking at how the human body is divided into pieces or parts can give us deeper insights into the beliefs of the particular society which produced these practices and representations.

And what about our own society? The twenty-first century has witnessed some dramatic changes in how the human body is broken down and reassembled. Organ transplants, skin grafts, reproductive and other biomedical technologies have completely revolutionised our

most deep-seated perceptions about where the boundaries between bodies are located. The advances in the Human Genome Project have produced a fractal notion of personhood whereby each 'individual' can be reduced to a single cell which contains all their data. This understanding of the body is not sequestered inside the laboratory, but impinges on everyday life in very concrete ways. Victims of catastrophe, for instance, no longer need to be identified from their fingerprints or dental records; instead, it is enough to have a tiny trace of biological tissue. Any part of the human body is enough to identify the whole.

Such a paradigmatic shift in how the 'individual' human body is broken down and related to others induces a certain amount of anxiety about the retention of personal identity. It is only when looking at other cultures that we recognise the inevitability of profound change, and the contingency of our own 'traditional' views of the body. Realising that ours is not, and never has been, the 'only way' to view the human body will perhaps make us feel less apprehensive as we watch it mutate and disappear.

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2. Bodies in pieces in the Neolithic Near East

Karina Croucher

Recent anthropological and archaeological literature has highlighted the possibilities of alternative experiences of personhood and the body, showing that bodily identity can be substantially different from our modern Western perspectives and understandings. Concepts such as dividual, partible and permeable persons have been discussed by Strathern (2000), Bird-David (1991), Busby (1997) and others, offering insights into a variety of experiences of the human body. Literature theorising the body has discussed the varied roles of bodies, which can be sites for performance (Butler 1993; Morris 1995; Roscoe 1998; Joyce 2008; Perry and Joyce 2001; Gill *et al.* 2005), reflections of beliefs and ideals, tools for communication, and mediums through which perceptions and understandings of the world are constructed (Devisch 1993; James 1986; Roach-Higgins and Eicher 1992; Masquelier 1996). Bodies can also be used as devices for participating in community activity and expressing community ideals (Turner 1991; Giddens 1991; Shilling 1994), as demonstrated in ethnographic works on rites of passage, for example amongst the Nuer of Sudan (Polhemus 1978) or the Ga'anda of Northeast Nigeria (Berns 1986, 1988). These examples have been taken from across the globe and are situated within their own historical contexts; thus, rather than indicating universal themes, they demonstrate the variety of human experience with relation to concepts of the body and identity.

In the early 1990s, Shilling (1993) and Giddens (1991) argued that the concept of individuality was a construct of modernity when, in the absence of community identity, the individual body became the focus for attention. Their work indicates that we should be thinking differently about the body and identity construction in the past, rather than projecting our modern Western expectations and experiences onto archaeological material. In the same vein, neither should we unthinkingly apply to the past models drawn from modern ethnographic case studies. Yet ethnography does serve to demonstrate the variety of human experience, and enable us to think beyond modern, Western expectations and experiences. Such reflections are demonstrated in studies of British and European prehistory, most notably in the works of Fowler (2001; 2004), Thomas (2004), Chapman (2000) and Brück (2001, 2005, 2006).

Research into Near Eastern prehistory has contrasted with that of British and European practices, with Near Eastern approaches focused on large-scale grand narratives, with ethnographies often used in more of an analogous manner than would be desired. However, there are exceptions, and a growing number of scholars are demonstrating more nuanced uses of ethnography and a contrast from the previous grand-narrative interpretations (*i.e.*

Boyd 2004; 2005; Campbell 2007–8; Jones 2009, and others). Adding to this body of research, this paper explores how alternative perceptions and experiences of the body can be discussed in relation to archaeology from the Neolithic of Southwest Asia (traditionally named the ‘Near East’), primarily using mortuary evidence. This work both discusses alternative approaches to the concept of the body in modern Western thought, and offers small-scale, bottom-up approaches, contrasting with the large-scale grand narratives traditionally seen in Near Eastern prehistory. Following a brief discussion of death and archaeological approaches to mortuary material, I will introduce three case studies (Fig. 2.1): Çayönü Tepesi’s Skull Building (c. 7600–6600 BC), Domuztepe’s Death Pit (c. 5500 BC), and the sites of Yarim Tepe I and II. It will become clear that notions of ‘individuality’ may not have been intended in the mortuary domain at these sites and that concepts of fragmentation and circulation are more suitable interpretations for this evidence. Interpretations of Domuztepe and Yarim Tepe build on an analysis of this material by Campbell (2007–8), who locates the fragmentation of the deceased with situating ancestors in the locales of the living, and discusses the role of mortuary practices in structuring settlement and social landscapes. A final fourth case study will offer insights into ‘whole’ bodies in the mortuary arena, through the sites of Sabi Abyad, Hakemi Use and Arpachiyah.



Fig. 2.1: Location of sites.

Death and mortuary practice

For us in the modern West, death is perceived as the final event in life. Whilst ashes may be retained or graves revisited, these are usually memorial devices, and rarely reflect a belief that the dead still somehow inhabit the physical remains. Yet this version of the relationship between the living and the dead is far from universal. As prominent works such as Bloch’s (1988) investigation of Madagascan practices, and Barley’s (1995) exploration of death in

Indonesia have revealed, in many communities a strong connection is maintained with the remains of the deceased. Physical interactions with the deceased are often continued beyond death, with the living very actively touching and moving the dead. Amongst the most famous examples are the Madagascan *Famadihana* practices (Bloch 1971; Larson 2001), which involve the removal of bones from tombs, rewrapping, and 'dancing the dead'. The dead are perceived as still having an identity, a position within society, and a purpose; the same applies in some societies to the unborn child (Hockey 2005), where the actual possession of a physical body is not an essential requirement for having an identity and perceived existence.

In addition to the sense of touch, experienced through the processing and physical contact of human remains, other senses are experienced in dealings with the dead. Smell is one often overlooked by archaeologists, who deal primarily (at least in Near Eastern archaeology) with dry, sterile bones, rather than fleshed or decomposing remains (Croucher and Campbell 2009; Croucher forthcoming). Taste can also play a role in mortuary practices, in terms of participating in funerary feasts and communal eating, as well as rarer cases of consumption of the deceased. In our own world such practices would be considered vile and depraved; nevertheless, ethnographic sources demonstrate that this is not a universal reaction. Beth Conklin (2001) shows how, amongst the Wari of Amazonian Brazil, eating the dead can indicate reverence, respect and honour. Hertz (1960: 32–33) has discussed mortuary practices amongst the Dayak of Borneo, where decompositional fluids of dead royalty would be collected as they decomposed, mixed with rice and consumed during the funeral. Clearly interactions with the dead vary hugely; in this respect we should not be surprised to find past practices and beliefs which are far removed from our own experiences.

Within Near Eastern archaeology, and archaeology more broadly, mortuary practices have traditionally been viewed as indicators of social hierarchies and complexity, identifying the status of the deceased, and the complexity of the community more widely (Saxe 1970; Binford 1971; Tainter 1978). Whilst it is challenged by post-processual and interpretative archaeologies, this traditional approach is still dominant in studies of the Near East, with the use of large-scale patterns, frameworks and chronologies (*i.e.* Flannery 1998; Kuijt and Goring-Morris 2002). Material is slotted into its correct position on a social-evolutionary developmental framework according to subsistence strategy and complexity, from hunter-gathering, to agriculture, and ultimately city-states, with the identification of a chronology of culture-groups, such as the 'Ubaid' or 'Halaf'. These groups are often perceived as almost 'real entities' in the past, with their identification often given more attention than the analysis of actual practices and events (see Campbell 1992a, 1998, 2007; Croucher and Campbell 2009; Croucher 2005a; Watkins 1998 for more on this discussion).

Whilst the development of such frameworks has been a necessary and valuable development, they present a far more simplistic view of the past than is actually suggested by the evidence, and often lead to complexities and differences being overlooked (Barrett 2005). The evidence provides opportunities for the study of a range of avenues, including discussions of families or gender, human-animal relationships, or relationships and engagements with material culture and the landscape. Only recently are these areas becoming focal points for discussion in studies of Near Eastern prehistory.¹

The discussion of such transitory, elusive and often ambiguous concepts as identity, bodily experience and relationships clearly presents many challenges. The most obvious way to start, I would suggest, is by examining the evidence on a small, immediate scale, from the 'bottom up' (Shanks and Tilley 1992; Hodder 1986). So, in my analysis of the

mortuary evidence, I will focus on individual sites, and features within sites, rather than on a whole region, period or 'type' of burial.

Domuztepe

My first case study is that of the Death Pit at Domuztepe, situated in the Karahmanmaras region of SE Anatolia, and dated to the mid 6th millennium BC. The Death Pit, which is the focus of my case study, dates to around 5500 BC cal. For fuller discussions of the whole site, see Campbell *et al.* (1999), Carter *et al.* (2003); Campbell and Carter (in prep); and for a discussion of the mortuary remains in particular, see Campbell (2007–8) and Kansa *et al.* (forthcoming).

The so-called 'Death Pit' is about a metre deep and 4–5 metres in diameter. It contained the structured deposition of the disarticulated and further fragmented remains of at least 36 persons (Kansa and Campbell 2002; Irving and Heywood 2005; Campbell *et al.* 1999; Campbell 2004; Kansa *et al.* forthcoming). It seems likely that deposition in the Death Pit was a swift event, probably lasting no longer than a matter of weeks. Suellen Gauld and Jim Oliver have analysed the human bones, and Sarah Witcher Kansa has studied the faunal remains. Over 10000 fragments of bone, including both human and animal, have been analysed so far. The animal assemblage included a minimum number of 11 cattle, predominantly prime-age females, 21 sheep/goat, and 6 dogs, with an underrepresentation compared to the rest of the site of 8 pigs (Kansa *et al.* forthcoming). All animal remains demonstrated consistent butchery marks, other than the dog remains, the latter of which had also been predominantly placed in the same deposits as human bones. Both dog and human skulls were consistently incomplete. The human bones additionally displayed evidence of other forms of processing, including the splitting of long bones for marrow extraction, evidence of heating, and human tooth marks on some bones (Kansa *et al.* forthcoming). The evidence suggests that consumption of the deceased may have been practised at the site, and not for purposes of survival, given the high number of butchered animals accompanying them (Kansa *et al.* forthcoming).



Fig. 2.2: Body of a 6–7 year old child marking the final phases of the Death Pit (Photo: Stuart

The possibility that bodies were apparently consumed already suggests a view of the body and death dramatically different from our own. In addition to the incomplete remains deposited within the Death Pit, other evidence from the site suggests the fragmentation, curation and circulation of human and animal remains, as well as direct physical contact with the dead. For instance, a deposit later than the Death Pit, but in its close vicinity, contained a cranium of a child and of a pig, together with a vessel, apparently containing a further fragment of a human skull (Campbell 2007–8). A decapitated but fleshed skull of a female aged 15–18 had been buried close to but later than the Death Pit, laid on her right side; the right part of the cranium had been removed. During the final phases of the Death Pit, and prior to these later depositional activities, the Death Pit was covered with a thick layer of ash, and the tightly-bound body of a c. 6–7 year old was buried on the southern edge of the Death Pit as part of the final act of deposition in the pit. The child's skull had been removed and replaced with the body, in almost the correct anatomical position (Campbell 2007–8) (Fig. 2.2).

A further example suggesting that the living continued to retain physical contact with the deceased beyond death is an adult female buried to the southwest of the Death Pit. Whilst the torso and upper body of this primary inhumation remained intact, the body had been dug down to after burial, and the left femur re-interred the wrong way around (Campbell 2007–8). It was also evident that several attempts had been made to excavate down to the legs at varying times after the initial burial. Additionally, directly above the burial, the mandible of a young individual had been interred with small long bones and a horn core (Croucher 2005b: 160). Other human remains were recovered from the vicinity of the Death Pit, particularly parts of crania and mandibles.

The Death Pit area remained a focus for the placement of people, or parts of people, at least for several generations. The Death Pit was also a site for animal remains, with particular associations between humans and dogs. Humans and dogs were buried in the same phases of the Death Pit, and their skulls received similar treatment. However, the dog remains had not been subjected to the degrees of butchery evidenced in the human remains (Kansa and Campbell 2002; Kansa *et al.* forthcoming).

The deliberate fragmentation of material culture is also evidenced at the Death Pit. A piece of pottery was sliced through prior to firing (Campbell *in press*; Irving and Heywood 2005: 6), and pieces of conjoining pottery were found through different phases of the Death Pit (Irving and Heywood 2005), with pieces from the same vessels occurring in more than one depositional context. Also, ceramic pot sherds and stones, which resembled crania, had been placed nested amongst skulls. It is tempting to speculate that they fulfilled similar roles as the 'head replacement objects' which feature in ethnographic and other archaeological accounts (DeLeonardis 2000, and Chapman's [this volume] discussion of Grave 3 from Hodmezovasarhely, where a vessel containing a net weight was found in place of the head). Obviously the same meaning cannot be assumed for the objects in the Death Pit but, whatever their meaning, their placement here appears to be deliberate rather than arbitrary, and may potentially symbolise relationships between the living and the (missing?) dead, as well as between people and material culture.

It seems that relationships between bodies and objects were closely entwined (see Campbell and Croucher forthcoming), apparently both subjected to deliberate fragmentation and breaking, with deliberate breakage apparently witnessed in other materials too, both from within and outside of the Death Pit. Obsidian mirrors are found broken and incomplete

throughout the site (E. Healey pers. comm.), as are stone bowls, with pieces recovered that are often highly polished and demonstrate a high quality of workmanship. With over 590 pieces of stone bowls from across the site, few match each other, and it appears (although analysis is still underway) that no whole vessels can be constructed from the remains (B. Campbell, pers. comm.), with the exception of small spouted cups, which are usually found complete. Significantly, one such spouted cup was recovered from unstratified contexts, containing deciduous teeth (Carter *et al.* 2003: 130), suggesting that the passing of stages through life were significant and marked.

At the site of Domuztepe, then, we witness a breaking down of bodies, animals, and material culture. Interactions with the deceased continued beyond the point of death, involving the processing, handling, curating and circulating of remains. These practices call to mind recent debates in European prehistory, and have been discussed by Stuart Campbell (2007–8), as relating ancestors to place, locating the ancestral dead with the spaces of the living. For scholars working on British and European prehistory, the fragmentation of bodies in mortuary rituals is often seen to reflect attempts by past communities to negotiate relationships between the living and the dead (Chapman 2000; Thomas 2004; Fowler 2001, 2004; and Brück 2001, 2005). It is evident in these studies that bodies were not simply interred after death, but that some parts were circulated – Thomas comments on the “general economy of human remains” visible at many sites in the British Neolithic (2000: 660).

Such circulation may be illuminated by Chapman’s discussion of enchainment (2000a: 140), where relationships between people are negotiated and maintained through the exchange of inalienable objects (concepts which have also been discussed by Joanna Brück 2001, 2005 and Chris Fowler 2001, 2004). In such relationships, the indebtedness associated with receiving means that the gifted object remains part of the giver, and when given away again, a network of enchainment is formed and reinforced through further exchange, strengthening and maintaining relationships. Such views of material culture are not uncommon in the ethnographic record. The often-cited work of Marilyn Strathern (1988) has shown that material items are more deeply embedded (with meaning, and with persons) than our modern experiences lead us to expect; in the Melanesian societies that Strathern studies, each person is composed of others, through the exchange of substances and material items. Similarly, for some prehistoric societies it is argued that objects and people are not distinguished from each other; rather, their biographies become entwined (Brück 2006: 76), and identities become composed of contacts with other people and objects. Chapman suggests that as well as whole objects, fragments of objects may also be circulated; in these cases, the part may become representative of the whole (Chapman 2000: 39). Fragments of bodies may be used in the same way, in the reinforcement of kinship ties as they were circulated around the community (Chapman 2000: 140; Fowler 2001: 144). Joanna Brück offers a different reading of fragmentation, seeing the destruction of objects and the body at death as necessary for regeneration and new life (2006: 88). As with other rites of passage, “a destruction of the old social persona” is necessary to facilitate “creation of a new self identity”, achieved during death through fragmentation (and in some cases burning) of the body (Brück 2001: 157).

At Domuztepe, it seems that it was not desired to keep the human body, objects, and animals whole and complete, integral, in this mortuary feature. Rather, we see that breaking down of the body was practised; this may suggest that even if concepts of the individual body were experienced during life (and we cannot take for granted that they were), they were negated or transformed in the mortuary arena. Whatever the beliefs about the living

body, it is evident that a change took place in the transition from life to death; perhaps conceptually transformed into communal identities through this treatment, and a physical change in the body between life and death, manipulated by the living.

Çayönü Tepesi

My second case study is the site of Çayönü Tepesi, in the Diyarbakır region of SE Anatolia, and a particular feature, the Skull Building. Whilst the site was inhabited for several millennia, the Skull Building dates to around the early 8th to the mid 7th millenniums BC, predating the Death Pit by at least 1000 years, with the building itself used for at least 1000 years, during which time it was rebuilt several times. From the first phase, we have remains of an apsidal feature accompanied by pits containing primary and secondary burials, and animal remains, with human skulls placed on the floor. Following this initial phase, further rebuilding kept to an identical orientation, rectangular in plan (Schirmer 1990; Özdoğan 1999).

The Skull Building contained the remains of over 450 people, primarily skulls and long bones (Özdoğan and Özdoğan 1998: 584). These were recovered from within cellar structures, where stacks of ordered skulls and long bones were recovered from one cellar room, and more jumbled remains were recovered from others. Above the cellars were rooms which also contained human remains, again mainly human skull and long bones, although aurochs limb and skull bones were also found.

The northern and southern areas had distinctive characters (Croucher 2005a, 2006). They were divided architecturally, at first separated by a step and standing stones, before these features were incorporated into a wall. The areas were also materially very different, the northern area constructed of stone, and the southern area repeatedly plastered. In contrast to the restricted space in the northern area, the southern space was more open. The remains of the deceased were retained in the cellars and adjoining rooms in the northern area of the building, where movement and access were restricted and reflected/dictated through the architecture.

As well as the human remains themselves, a stone slab in the southern area of the Skull Building bears witness to the processing of human remains. Blood residue from aurochs and humans were recovered from the slab, as well as from a long flint blade, which also had sheep blood crystals present (Wood 1998). It is tempting to read this as evidence of sacrifice, although this is difficult to prove. Yet it does seem certain that the cutting of human and animal bodies took place here. Given that some of the skulls recovered still had mandibles and second vertebrae in place (Özbek 1988: 129; Loy and Wood 1989: 452), it seems that some of this processing took place at or soon after death.

A recent article by Adams (2005: 185) has discussed the possibility that head-hunting was taking place, primarily with relation to Çatalhöyük, but suggests that the practice should not be ruled out with relation to other sites too. However, given that there were also many long bones and other bones present (at least in the case study of Çayönü), it seems clear that the head was not the only objective; moreover, the range of ages represented does not seem to indicate warring factions, but rather a population, with the exception of those under weaning age. I would suggest that it is our association of disarticulation and decapitation as violent acts that leads to expectations of the presence of enemy actions, rather than accepting a situation where such treatment of the dead was considered appropriate, rather than violent.

Within the Skull Building we additionally see comparable treatment of animals, with

animal blood recovered in the same contexts as human blood (the stone slab and the large, black, flint knife), as well as an aurochs skull and horns recovered from within the Skull Building. The aurochs seemingly played an important role, with its burial mirroring its human counterparts within the Skull Building.

We also see the deliberate fragmentation of material culture – one of the earliest clay plates from the site had been deliberately smashed marking one of the phases of closure of the Skull Building. Not only was this plate deliberately broken, but bone had been used as temper in the clay (Özdoğan 1999: 50), a rare inclusion, bringing to mind the breaking down and incorporation of old substances into new ones, discussed by Brück (2001: 55).

The relationship between burials within and outside of the Skull Building is also worthy of discussion. Current research by Jessica Pearson (forthcoming) is currently taking place, using isotope analysis to investigate and compare the diets of those from the Skull Building with other burials on the site. We already know that burial style was different between the two groups of burials, with those from outside of the Skull Building (in the Cell Building Subphase) being crouched, articulated inhumations, contrasting with the selective display of certain body parts in the Skull Building (Özdoğan 1999: 49; Özdoğan and Özdoğan 1993: 93). According to the excavation analysis, the burials took place in different periods, with inhumation practices changing over time, with the burials in the Cell Building Subphase post-dating those in the Skull Building. It is also worth noting that numerous finds of stray bone were recovered from across the site, including pits with human bones and jaw and skull fragments in the open areas; such finds were common, dating to the Channelled and Cobbled Paved Building Sub-phases – the phases contemporary with the Skull Building (Özdoğan, A. 1995: 87).

This may mean that there was a chronological shift in ideas relating to the correct treatment of the dead – a move away from the fragmentation, and potentially de-individualisation, of the dead, towards a greater recognition of the integral body in the mortuary arena, during a time when we see greater reflection of status through architecture and grave goods.

It is tempting to tie the Skull Building into the broader ‘Skull Cult’, a term used to encompass the removal and often the plastering and painting of the skulls of the deceased across the Near East, predominantly in the Levant. Interpretations have traditionally focused around ancestor veneration (Cauvin 1994, 2000; Kenyon 1957; Bienert 1991; Wright 1988), although the term does need to be used with caution. Recent research has debunked the notion that ‘elder wise male’ figures were the focus of these practices, especially since plastered skulls, on reanalysis, belonged to males and females, as well as children (Bonogofsky 2003, 2004, 2005). That one unified meaning existed behind the practice is unlikely. Yet it may also be the case that the skulls selected for plastering were chosen due to their position in society, perhaps selected during infancy; recent research on a plastered cranium from Jericho has revealed that the head shape had been manipulated from cranial modification (Fletcher *et al.* 2008), a practice undertaken during infancy, dictating the growth and shape of the head, lasting throughout life (Daems and Croucher 2007; Meiklejohn *et al.* 1992; Arensburg and Hershkovitz 1988). The implication is that some kind of social categorisation, such as lineage, may have been influencing such choices. Whatever the case, the question of whether plastered skulls and other skull treatments were intended to render individual identity permanent is a subject of ongoing debate.

The notion that ancestors retained individual identities is often problematised by ethnographic examples. For instance, in Peten, Guatemala, the personal identities of the deceased are lost over time; skulls used in ceremonies are known to have belonged to

important ancestors, yet their actual identities become obscured and irrelevant. In many societies, personal identity is not always the central concern in rituals involving the deceased. Instead, a person is understood to be dependent on and structured by a wider holistic order, encompassing both the living and the dead (Barraud *et al.* 1994: 112–113). This is an issue discussed by Boyd in relation to Natufian practices, in which “the precise identities of predecessors do not necessarily have to be known to those enacting or observing the rites in order for those rites to be effective” (1995: 22). Kuijt (2008) has suggested that whilst the original conceptualisation of Neolithic plastered skulls was in all likelihood linked to specific individuals, such as “elder leaders or other people of importance” (Kuijt 2008: 177), individual identities were not carried forward; “after two or perhaps three generations, the memory of individuals becomes depersonalized and abstract. Rather than being conceptualized as known individuals, the dead are merged in an ancestral memory that is anonymous, homogenized, and collective” (*ibid.*: 174). However, this is a proposition based on modern experiences of memory and remembering, including the original intention to remember and distinguish individuals. It could equally be the case that the plastered skulls were not replicating particular individuals (as seems to be the case at Kfar HaHoresh) (M. Bonogofsky, pers. comm.), but rather that an abstract or representative image is being expressed. The assumption that the category of an individual person was relevant and desired in the mortuary arena is not necessarily correct. It is also surely the case that, had there been an intention to retain ‘individual memory’ as such, then this could have been achieved; we see ‘relics’ of saints curated for hundreds of years, retaining their alleged owner’s perceived identities. This inconclusive discussion perhaps arises from our own importance of individuality and memorialisation (or forgetting) of the dead.

Yarim Tepe II

Whilst the case studies discussed here vary from each other, and relate to different temporal and geographical material, they do demonstrate an alternative way of treating the dead from our modern, Western perspectives, where it seems the breaking and fragmenting of bodies was the appropriate way to treat the dead. There are many other sites where comparable strands of practices can be witnessed. For example, the site of Yarim Tepe II, which dates to c. 5800–5400 BC, and is broadly contemporary with Domuztepe: over 50 burials were excavated at Yarim Tepe II in the 1960–70s (Merpert and Munchaev 1971, 1987, 1993a–d), including primary inhumations, cremations, the burial of crania, and occasional evidence of other secondary burials.

One of the striking aspects of the site is the degree to which fragmentation occurs throughout these burials: it affects both human bodies and material culture; and is found in both primary burials and cremation deposits. The human remains were all recovered from the northern area of the site, apparently separate from other activity and habitation areas. Material included a white alabaster spouted cup, deliberately smashed, in the burial of two juveniles (Merpert and Munchaev 1993d: 209–211), and from the cremation burial of an adult (burial 50), two painted vessels had been “deliberately shattered and thrown in at the time of the burial” (Merpert and Munchaev 1993d: 212). The disarticulated, charred bones of an adult (burial 52) were interred with the fragments of two painted vessels, deliberately smashed and displaying evidence of burning (Merpert and Munchaev 1993d: 212–3). Cremation 54, also adult, had been placed on top of a layer of ash, along with burnt fragments of a small painted vessel, and fragments of three further vessels. From within the

ash layer were found two ceramic spindle whorls, a bone awl, and a fragment of a polished flat red stone (Merpert and Munchaev 1993d: 215).

For one cremation burial, that of a 10 year old, the cremation site was discovered, where an alabaster goblet, a large bowl, and three ceramic vessels, including one cup, had been deliberately smashed (Merpert and Munchaev 1993d: 215–6). A further burial of a 10–13 year old, had been left at its site of cremation, where 20 obsidian beads had been placed into a crudely-made, broken, painted ceramic vessel, the vessel itself bearing no signs of burning. Several vessels, of both ceramic and stone, had also been thrown and smashed into the cremation area. As well as a variety of other objects, including pendants, beads and shells, there were also 29 beads which had been crudely modelled and badly fired (Merpert and Munchaev 1993d: 215–6).

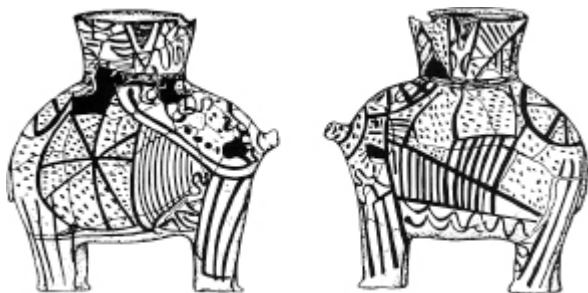


Fig. 2.3: Zoomorphic vessel, after Merpert and Munchaev 1993b: figs. 8.14–15.

Unfinished or crudely made objects accompanied primary burials, such as Burial 32, a seven year old, interred with a miniature stone spouted vessel, an unfinished alabaster vessel, a painted clay cup with a flint knife and two bone awls (Merpert and Munchaev 1971b: 31). One burial (Burial 58) additionally included charred sheep and goat bones (Merpert and Munchaev 1993d: 211).

Tholos 67, a large, circular structure from the earliest period of the site and the same area as the burials, had been constructed on a clay platform. From beneath its plaster floor were recovered fragments of an intentionally broken painted vessel and three microlithic obsidian tools, all of which had been covered with ash. Just north of this, also beneath the floor, were recovered objects including vessel fragments, spindle whorls, a grey, stone pendant with a circular incised pattern, a flat, stone, pierced pendant, a fragment of a clay figurine, and a copper, triangular, seal-pendant, as well as animal bones (although the report is unspecific about the nature of these animal bones), interpreted by the excavators as foundation deposits (Merpert and Munchaev 1993b: 139).

There were several pits which had been dug in the same area of the site as the burials. One such pit contained fragments of a pig-like zoomorphic vessel (Fig. 2.3), along with fragments of several other vessels (Merpert and Munchaev 1993b: 145), including “a ‘crude’ cooking vessel” and an alabaster bowl, filled with earth, ash and charcoal (S. Bell, pers. comm., referencing Bader, Merpert and Munchaev 1981: 26). A further pit contained the shattered fragments of a “unique painted anthropomorphic vessel in the shape of a female figure”, accompanied by a broken alabaster plate, a stone seal with a carved design and eyehole on its reverse, evidently for suspension, with the fragments of a simple clay bowl (Merpert and Munchaev 1993b: 144–5). There appears to be a recurring theme in that the same kinds of objects were recovered as were placed in burials, including beads, cups,

awls, flint knives, necklaces and pendants, as well as the continual breaking of objects, and the deposition of unfinished or crudely made objects.

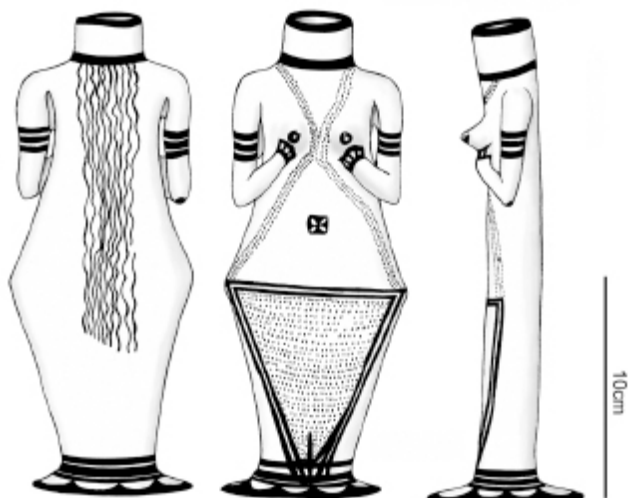


Fig. 2.4: Anthropomorphic vessel, Iraq Museum (Drawing: Stuart Campbell).

The additional fragmentation of some bodies can be seen through the six crania burials. Two had been buried individually, and a further three (two mature adults and one juvenile) were buried together in a shallow pit. All had been placed on their left sides. A further juvenile cranium had been placed on top of a pile of bones (Merpert and Munchaev 1993d: 217).

Further fragmented remains have also been found from neighbouring Yarim Tepe I's Halaf levels (early 6th millennium BC). In particular, Burial 60 consisted of a fragmented human burial, with 200 gazelle astragali (ankle bones), a 70 cm-long aurochs skull, and deliberately smashed clay and alabaster vessels, as well as pieces of charcoal and other small objects (Merpert and Munchaev 1971a: 17; Merpert and Munchaev 1993d: 221). The burial has traditionally been described as that of a hunter (*ibid.*). The mingling of human and animal remains is evident here, perhaps however suggesting different human/animal relationships than hunter and prey. Unfortunately, further details, including the nature of the human bones recovered, are absent; yet the example does demonstrate that signs of fragmentation are identifiable in excavation data which are decades old; whilst modern techniques and methodologies enable a closer study of these practices in more recent excavations.

At earlier phases of habitation at the same site of Yarim Tepe I, burials within particular buildings are worthy of interest. Tholos 333 contained the "miscellaneous bones of two or three adults", along with sheep bones and fragments of at least four vessels (Burial 131) (Merpert & Munchaev 1987: 9); further animal remains were also recovered from Tholos 319, interpreted as 'sacrificial animals', along with necklaces and stone vessels (Merpert and Munchaev 1993a: 95).

Such treatment is not unusual for these lower levels, where the excavators write that except for one burial (126), that of a young female adult under 25 years of age, the remains

of all adults displayed evidence of “very unusual ritual practices”, mainly dismemberment, within structures (Merpert and Munchaev 1987: 9). From within Level 11, room 346 (measuring 1.70 × 1.25 m) were recovered the spine, thorax, limbs and skull of an adult, which had been dismembered, although arranged in the correct anatomical order. It seems that the pelvis, ribs, hands and feet were missing, although there is ambiguity in the published account (*ibid.*). Within the same building complex, from a room whose walls and floor were covered with gypsum plaster (room 282 – again small in size measuring 1.35 × 1.05 m) were recovered the remains of Burial 105. Two feet, the head of a femur bone, and other adult bone fragments had been placed within and next to a 50 cm wide trough which crossed the room (*ibid.*). Dismembered skeletons have also been recovered from a central room of complex 17 in Level 7. The excavators additionally write that there were further dismembered bodies recovered from the site (*ibid.*).

It is conceivable that consumption of the deceased is indicated through these remains. The bodies here were apparently manipulated in a fresh state, suggested by the articulation of the foot bones. It also seems that whilst certain parts of the body have been removed, other parts, such as the feet in Burial 105, have been left behind; a common feature seen in cases of cannibalism, where parts of the body least suited to consumption may be discarded (Flynn *et al.* 1979; Reed 1974). That only the head of the femur was recovered indicates the limbs had been broken in some way. It does indeed seem plausible that the body had been cut up to be carried away, leaving behind those remains less edible. However, as reanalysis of the bones is not possible, this remains speculation.

The buildings were filled in soon after the deposition of bodies within them. It seems unlikely that these events were unconnected; the buildings were taken out of use, accompanying the depositions within them. Campbell discusses how disposal of the dead within buildings changes the nature of activities and beliefs surrounding them, with intimate links between the dead and the transformation of settlements (2007–8: 14); the buildings may have had a perceived lifecycle, with the death of the person related in some way to the ‘death’ of the building (see Brück 2006). The nature of the buildings where these dismembered adults had been placed is also of interest. The bodies had all been placed in small rooms, within both round and rectangular structures. One room is plastered and another contained a trough. Both these features are suggestive of liquid being a feature behind the function and activities of these rooms. The trough itself is an unusual feature, and may relate to animal watering, bathing, or storage of liquid. A further suggestion is that the trough could be associated directly with mortuary activities, perhaps used for washing of the corpse, or for the accumulation of blood. We can see comparative evidence, albeit later in time, to Çayönü’s Skull and other special buildings, where liquid seemingly featured in the activities taking place within, as evidenced by the architectural features of flooring and drains apparent in these buildings (Özdoğan 2001). Certain buildings become, or are designed to be, associated with specific practices during their lives.

Whole bodies? Arpachiyah and related material

Whilst the above case studies have discussed parts of bodies, this final case study will examine whole bodies, although inescapably this often encompasses body parts too; the situation is rarely clear cut. We have seen at Çayönü Tepesi that developments through time lead to burials of the articulated whole body; this case study presents evidence where it is tempting to think of the development of an individual, rather than a communal, focus.

At the 6th millennium BC site of Hakemi Use, primary inhumations, flexed and wrapped

in matting, were recovered, including children and infants. Many of the graves included broken pottery placed as grave goods (Tekin 2005). At the site of Sabi Abyad a burial field has been discovered, revealing over 100 burials so far, dating to around 6200–6000 BC. These burials are primary inhumations of whole, adult bodies, although on occasion the head has been removed, or in one case, that of a 26–35 year old man, the head had been replaced in almost the correct anatomical position, though facing the ground (Smits and Akkermans 2009). There is an additional burial ground for infants and children, buried in the same manner, but in a different location on the Tell (Akkermans 2005). In contrast to Hakemi Use, Yarim Tepe and Arpachiyah, objects buried as grave goods at Sabi Abyad are complete, whole vessels, usually bowls and jars (Smits and Akkermans pers. comm.). Whilst the burials are situated on the main tell site, both the adult and child burial fields were in abandoned areas of the site, away from areas of habitation, suggesting the worlds of the living and dead were not intermingling on an obviously regular basis.

The site of Arpachiyah in north Iraq has additionally revealed primary inhumations; 45 graves were excavated in the 1930s (although this was not the extent of the entire cemetery). These were predominantly primary inhumations, oriented E-W, with about a third of the burials consisting of partial and incomplete burials (Mallowan and Rose 1935: 8) with either head, limbs or ribs missing (Mallowan and Rose 1935: 35); all were buried in the ruins of an uninhabited area of the site, and were dated to the Ubaid period, c. Late 6th–early 5th Millennium BC. Earlier Halaf burials were whole, except for some skulls recovered from within ceramic bowls, uncovered by later excavations (Hijara 1978: 125), and an isolated, unpublished skull, on the east side of the mound (Campbell 1992b: 177).

Particularly intriguing are portable items recovered from the site, labelled as models of finger bones by the excavators. A set of five modelled finger bones, made from white limestone, along with an actual finger bone, and a collection of other objects including both a female and male figurine (the only male figurine excavated on the site), were recovered from the Burnt House in TT6, a building interpreted as being of ritual and high status use (Mallowan and Rose 1935; Campbell 2000). One of the finger bones has a flat base, interpreted as potentially a gaming piece (Mallowan and Rose 1935: 99). A further set of finger bones were also found in Grave 58 with some barley grains, along with smashed objects, and other items including an obsidian knife and white stone pendant (*ibid.*: 43). The excavators speculate on the ritual use of fingerbones, given their recovery as both an additional deposit in a grave, and in the Burnt House.

Whilst the prospect of these objects modelled on finger bones is intriguing, especially against a background of interactions between the living and the dead and circulation of bones, perhaps even more thought-provoking is that on further investigation, the bones relate more closely to ruminant phalanx bones, of an animal about the size of a large sheep/goat upwards (probably at least dog size) (Jessica Pearson, pers. comm.). Yet they are associated with human finger bones (as identified by the original excavators), at least in the Burnt House. Perhaps these links between humans and animals can also be taken further through analysis of some of the graves from Arpachiyah, dating to the late 6th/early 5th millennium BC.

At the feet of G3, a grave interpreted as being a potential reburial of an adult, or at least demonstrating some intervention as the skull had been replaced a little distance from the body (0.9m from the body and 0.4m below it), were recovered the skull of a ram or goat, with an unpainted pot placed on the animal skull (Mallowan and Rose 1935: 38). In G47 there was a “deposit in the shape of a sheep’s jaw, lying over the human jaw” (*ibid.*: 41) interpreted by the excavators as indicative of a meat offering (although the jaw is not

usually a particularly good source of meat), along with sherds of pots, fragments from flint knives, the lid of a pot, other vessels, with the skull rested on a potsherd (*ibid.*: 41). Associated with Grave 21, the only fully extended body recovered, were “sheep’s teeth and animal bones” (*ibid.*: 39). Grave 45 contained at least three bodies, with various parts of the skeletons missing, along with at least ten painted pots, and animal bones, mostly jaws of sheep and cows (1935: 41). A further deposit of four vessels, broken, found with ribs of sheep, contained no actual body (*ibid.*: 136). Grave 34 contained an ibex core (*ibid.*: 40).

So at Arpachiyah there appears to be an intermingling of human and animal remains taking place. In addition, fractional graves at the site are recovered alongside primary inhumations. G40 had its cranium removed, G17 contained only a skull, G5 contained only the skull and finger bones, and in G39 the limb bones had been placed alongside the skull. G9 was a primary inhumation, but contained a piece of infant skull on the sherd of a large pot (*ibid.*: 38). Additionally, two graves contained pots and no people, G18, and G45 (the latter a multiple grave, which contained some pots unassociated with other bodies).

Whilst many details are missing from the site reports, given their excavation almost 90 years ago, it does appear that there were particular relationships between bodies, animals and material culture, which reach beyond those of simply subsistence or production.

And at other sites throughout the region, there are finds of pieces of bodies, repeatedly found from different time periods and regions, demonstrating that whilst strands of practice may appear comparable, there were many different manipulations and undoubtedly meanings. At the much earlier late 9th–early 8th millennium BC site of Tell Aswad we see a general practice of manipulating human remains; burying, retrieving, handling, reburying, *etc.* (Stordeur *et al.* 2006; Stordeur and Khawam 2007; Stordeur pers. comm.). At the late 8th millennium BC site of Kfar HaHoresh in the Levant, there are continual burials of human and animal remains, including the mixing of humans and gazelles, and parts of foxes, usually mandibles, repeatedly associated with children’s graves (Goring-Morris 2005). Such practices are also echoed in the earlier Natufian period, including the site of Ain Mallaha, where a fox mandible had been placed next to a piece of skull, which had been cut and polished (Goring-Morris 2005; Perrot and La diray 1988: fig. 32, plate XVIII). Pieces of skulls are especially intriguing as they are recovered from numerous sites: they are found at PPNB Kfar HaHoresh, some of which have been burned (Goring-Morris pers.comm.); there is a piece of skull that appears to have been polished and pierced from PPNA Wadi Faynan 16 (Bill Finlayson and Sam Smith pers. comm.); as well as Burial 32 from the same site, which contained 10 large fragments of crania, carefully stacked, above a primary burial with its skull removed and the long bones from the left leg and right tibia crossed over in the place of the skull (Finlayson *et al.* 2009). At Domuztepe we have the piece of skull associated with a vessel, as well as various finds across the site of pieces of skulls and jaw bones. Additionally, skulls are frequently incomplete in the Death Pit, and the more complete ones do consistently have a piece missing. This is potentially due to impact, processing and loss; however, I would argue that the possibility of these pieces being intentionally removed during mortuary practices should not be ruled out. I would suggest that these pieces may have been removed and retained, thus leading to their lack of representation from within the Death Pit itself. This is most clear in the skull of a female, recovered from the vicinity of the Death Pit, where a piece from the right side of her skull was missing (Fig. 2.5). Whilst this may have been a consequence of the blow to the head she received, that this piece of skull is missing altogether from an otherwise fleshed and articulated head (Fig. 2.6) is suggestive, I would argue, of intentional removal, possibly a consequence of brain removal, but additionally feasibly due to intention. Whatever the case

with these parts of skulls, the collection and meaningful deposition of parts of bodies is further supported by the later placing of skull, jaw bones and other isolated human remains around the vicinity of the Death Pit. With a broad temporal and geographical span, there does appear to be a general background of these relationships between the living and the dead, demonstrating that the case studies chosen above are not isolated events. Yet the picture is not a clear-cut pattern, as the above-mentioned sites of Arpachiyah, Sabi Abyad and Hakemi Use demonstrate.



Fig. 2.5. Reassembled skull, Domuztepe.



Fig. 2.6. Skull in situ, Domuztepe (Photo: Stuart Campbell).

Discussion

In contrast to traditional approaches in Near Eastern archaeology, which prioritise large-scale frameworks relating to socioevolutionary developments, analysing the small scale can reveal different types of information. Through examining the small scale, we can begin to interpret material from the bottomup, building up a more lively, if more complicated, picture of events, and significantly revealing alternative attitudes and understandings of the body, including insights into continued relationships between the living and the dead,

between people, animals and material culture. These individual understandings can then be pieced together to attempt a broader outlook, yet it appears that the picture is not a nice, neat one, devised of cultural entities and unities of practice. Rather, different practices, understandings of death, and treatment of the dead body were practised at different sites, and often within sites.

As identified by Campbell (2007–8), the sites of Domuztepe and Yarim Tepe (and others within Campbell's study) demonstrate a fragmentation of the dead, which Campbell situates as locating communities to the locales of the ancestors, and structuring space and understandings of the settlement and landscape (2007–8). Building on this research, it becomes evident that bodies are 'incomplete' in our terms. Whatever attitudes and motivations lay behind the practices, the question of what happened to the remainder of the body parts is a curious one, and one that at present can only be answered speculatively. Whilst a proportion of losses may be due to preservation conditions and post-depositional factors, these do not account for all of the missing remains. It is certainly feasible that some parts of bodies were removed and perhaps circulated, as the evidence of the later deposition of body parts at Domuztepe suggests.

The fragmentation and circulation of these bodies was not necessarily restricted to the mortuary arena; these themes may have permeated many aspects of life, yet it is through the mortuary arena that they are often most visible to us, necessitating the further study of other activity areas within these sites. We can see from the above case studies that there are many manifestations of the repeated themes of fragmentation and circulation. Evidenced in them are repeated associations between the living and the dead, with very real, tactile and physical, manipulations of the dead body by the living, locating events and places to people in the landscape, and constructing and reflecting social memory, as humans, animals and material culture become entwined in living identities. It seems in these cases that the dead body is correctly dealt with through its breaking up, which presumably contrasted with the physically-whole – if not necessarily conceptually-whole – body during life.

Yet, as the contrasting evidence from Arpachiyah, Sabi Abyad and Hakemi Use reveal, fragmentation of the dead was not universally practised. It would be tempting with these other case studies to suggest that they demonstrate a growing recognition of individuality, and a growing sense of the individual rather than a communal focus. However, recent research by Joanna Brück has highlighted problems with such interpretations. Through discussing burials in Bronze Age Britain, Brück argues that networks may be reflected in burials; whilst the body may be whole, the placements of different objects, embodied with different histories, and representative of networks and relationships, cite the Bronze Age body as a "combination of elements", "represented by and constituted through artefacts" (Brück 2009). Similarly, Chris Fowler has discussed the fractal body, composed of elements around it (2008); the concept of the fractal burial may still be retained within 'complete' burials, through the associations and depositions accompanying them. Such interpretations seem especially appropriate in the cases of Yarim Tepe and Arpachiyah, where fragmented objects are also interred, but additionally whole objects could also be indicative of relationships and networks, interred with the dead.

So, the nature of the evidence dictates that there is not a nice, neat conclusion, or a story that ties all this evidence together. Clearly, however, interactions between the living and the dead varied, both through time and geographically, as well as within sites themselves. In some cases we see a close interaction of the living with the dead, in the very tactile processing of the dead, and later handling and circulation. In other contexts, the dead are placed into the ground whole, with objects placed into graves to accompany the dead,

feasibly representing relationships and networks, especially when incomplete. An analogous treatment of the body and material culture can often be seen, through the destruction of the latter with the burial of the former, or through the replacement of the physical body with objects. Relationships between the living and the dead produced a variety of experiences, suggesting that understandings of the whole and fragmented body were changing through time and place, and within lifetimes. Thinking about the nature of these changes, it is possible to draw out some suggestions regarding the nature of these differences, and their implications for concepts of identity. The changing and diverse patterns, ranging from primary interments to skull removal, and the contrast of disarticulated and fragmented bodies at these sites, is perhaps indicative of the negotiations of identity and what it means to be human during this time of social change.

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Note

- 1 See the British Association of Near Eastern Archaeologists conference, February 2008, with its main theme of 'theoretically speaking' (organised by Brian Boyd and Karina Croucher), investigating alternative approaches to the archaeology of SW Asia.

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3. Parts to a whole: Manipulations of the body in prehistoric Eastern Mediterranean

Kirsi O. Lorentz

'The naming of the body parts serves as part of the process of cultural learning of the object body or the body somatic' (Christensen 2000: 53)

What counts as a body part? There is great ambiguity and cross-cultural variation in the conceptualisation of the body and its parts. Pia Christensen discusses the cultural constitution of childhood bodies in our own, Western society (Christensen 2000: 53). The interaction of young children with general practitioners and paediatricians requesting localisation of pain verbally and through the physical act of pointing shows the ambiguity of the compartmentalisation of the body as utilised by the adults and medical practitioners. "The child feels her body as a subjective experience and does not have an 'outsider's view' of her body as an object" concludes Christensen (2000: 54). Bernard Place (2000) explores how the boundaries of bodies in intensive care units are constituted by, and contested through, the attachment of non-corporeal, technological elements. Marilyn Strathern has pointed out, in the context of a medico-ethical debate, that what counts as a body part is a cultural construction¹ (pers. comm.). History of medicine shows not only changing conceptions of relations of parts to a whole, but also changes in the very definition of body parts and their significance. These necessarily short glimpses into the ambiguity of naming and defining body parts in our own cultural contexts are writ large in the vast ethnographic literature attesting to the cross-cultural variation in conceptualisations of the body and its parts. While a full appreciation of the above points may lead, in its extreme, to a paralysis in terms of culturally contextual research focusing on the body and its parts in prehistoric contexts, there are ways forward. It is the very materiality of the body that forms the basis of cultural naming of its parts. For example, cadavers decompose into skeletal elements through a particular chronology of articular decomposition (Duday 1985); a whole (the body, the cadaver) decomposes to parts (sections of the body, individual bone elements). This phenomenon would have been observed by at least some people in the past, especially in cultural contexts where secondary manipulations of the dead body were practised.

If we accept that the body as a whole, and its division into parts, are culturally constructed, how, then, can we hope to study the emic conceptualisations of body parts, and further, the changing relations between body parts and bodies whole, particularly in past non-literate cultural contexts? In this chapter, I suggest that one avenue open to us is to focus on *manipulations* of the body, actual or depicted. What is meant by this here is the

manipulation of actual corpses, their parts, as well as depictions of human bodies, whether whole or in pieces.² Such manipulations indicate clear choice, and we may assume that they focus on what was seen as significant regions or parts of the body in particular contexts. Thus, in order to begin to investigate the prehistoric conceptualisations of human bodies and body parts in the Eastern Mediterranean, and Cyprus in particular, we need to carefully sift through contextual and depictional evidence for clues about which areas or body parts have received emphasis. This exercise is by necessity relative to our own, Western, post-modern conceptualisations of the body and its parts, influenced by advances in medicine, as well as our removal from, and our consequent unfamiliarity with, the dead body and its decomposition.³

Before we can embark on the investigation of fragmentation and the relations between body parts and bodies whole, a brief look at the French approach of *anthropologie de terrain* will clarify the methodological and theoretical basis on which my current analysis of the Cypriot skeletal remains rests.⁴ As for the analyses of anthropomorphic depictions, the premises of attribute analysis and comparative contextual analysis are well known, and will not be reiterated here. In order to understand which aspects of the exact positioning of human remains in an excavated burial context are due to intentional placement, we need to understand not only the various scenarios for human action, but also the way in which corpses decompose and the relative chronology of decomposition of skeletal articulations, as well as the dynamics between the formation of empty spaces within the original volume of the cadaver and within the burial feature. The dynamics of empty spaces and the subsequent filling of these empty spaces with sediment is the other principle of *anthropologie de terrain* that needs to be considered in addition to the chronology of decomposition. The empty spaces can be roughly divided into two groups: (1) those forming within the original volume of the cadaver; (2) those forming outside the original volume of the cadaver. These empty spaces contribute to the disequilibrium of the human skeletal elements in the burial feature. These empty spaces are created by the decomposition of organic material and are eventually penetrated by sediment.

Anthropologie de terrain is a cross-disciplinary synthetic approach, combining the methods and techniques of archaeology and biological anthropology in the study of burials. The work of Henri Duday (1978) is seminal, and continues to shape this approach (Duday 1981, 1985, 1987a, 1987b; Duday *et al.* 1990; Duday and Masset 1987). The keystones of *anthropologie de terrain* are taphonomy and detailed biological knowledge of how the human body decomposes after death. *Anthropologie de terrain* requires detailed observations of skeletal articulation and positioning of the bones in the burial context, leading to inferences about the original position of the corpse and/or body parts through inferences about the intervening stages in decomposition and taphonomic processes.⁵ Such an approach represents a significant departure from the previous analytical techniques, and allows us to view the excavated burial as a result of a process, influenced by human as well as non-human factors. One could indeed characterise *anthropologie de terrain* as the ‘taphonomy of ritual practice’, as Liv Nilsson Stutz does (2003).

The post-depositional movement of skeletal elements is partly determined by the nature of articulations that connect these individual body parts to the whole. Within *anthropologie de terrain*, the articulations that decompose early are called *labile articulations* or *labile connections* (Duday *et al.* 1990: 31). The articulations that decompose late in this relative chronology are called *persistent articulations* (*ibid.*). The most labile articulations of the body include those between (1) the foot phalanges, (2) hand bones, (3) cervical vertebrae, (4) costo-sternal articulations, and (5) scapulo-thoracic junction. Depending on the

circumstances, these remain intact from a couple of weeks to a few months after death (*ibid.*). The most persistent articulations are between the following bones: (1) the atlas and the occipital, (2) the lumbar vertebrae, (3) the sacrum and the last lumbar vertebra, (4) the sacrum and the ilium, (5) the femur and the pelvis, (6) the bones of the knee, and (7) the tarsals and the bones of the ankle. The most persistent articulations are characterised by high biomechanical loading during life. Depending on the circumstances, these may remain intact for years.

This relative chronology of decomposition of skeletal articulations, together with detailed field observations on the positioning and articulation of human skeletal elements, allow for inferences on the *primary* versus *secondary* nature of burials. Further, such data allow us to track possible *multiple episodes*. In cases where multiple episodes led to a secondary deposition, analysing which labile and persistent articulations are preserved allows us to infer the stage of decomposition which the bodies or body parts had reached at the time of deposition, and provides information on the timing of further manipulation during any subsequent interventions (Stutz 2003: 153). Important studies of differential stages of decomposition of anatomical articulations have been undertaken by Duday and others (Duday 1987a, 1987b; Stutz 2003).

Parts and wholes

The following paragraphs discuss the manipulations of the dead body, and the depicted body.⁶ I have chosen to focus on the Eastern Mediterranean due to the rich variety of data available. While the plastering of crania, skull emphasis, and manipulations of figurines in the Levant and Anatolia are well known examples, I have chosen to focus on Chalcolithic Cyprus, as the rich variety of material has not been previously discussed in this manner.

Bodily fragmentation in mortuary contexts in Chalcolithic Cyprus

Burials in Chalcolithic Cyprus were placed both within settlements (Peltenburg *et al.* 1985, 1991, 1998, Peltenburg *et al.* 2006) and in extramural cemeteries⁷ (Crewe *et al.* 2005; Peltenburg 2006). Settlement burials are usually single, primary inhumations, mostly of females and children. Cemetery burials on the other hand are mostly, if not always, multiple (Fig. 3.1), and contain both primary and secondary burials, in rock-cut bottle-shaped shafts equipped with capstones, representing considerable expenditure of energy in a society with no metal tools⁸ (Crewe *et al.* 2005; Peltenburg 2006; Steel 2004).

The Souskiou-Laona cemetery is a topographically well defined, partially looted,⁹ but entirely investigated cemetery site (Crewe *et al.* 2005), dated to the Middle Chalcolithic period (3500–2800 BC; Peltenburg 1989). Within this paper I will focus on the intact tombs from Souskiou-Laona. Contextually, the skeletal material within these burials can be divided into two types: primary, articulated burials¹⁰ (Fig. 3.1), and ‘bone stacks’ (Fig. 3.2). The bone stacks consist of secondary burial material, intentionally placed at the feet of the primary burial. Most of the articulated individuals were found on their right side, slightly supine¹¹ (Fig. 3.1). The foot bones of the articulated individuals lie on top of the bone stack material, indicating the sequence of intentional placement. There are often traces of pillow-like patches of distinct earth, or stones, under the heads of the articulated individuals. The bone stacks contain varying numbers of crania (ranging from zero up to ten), placed on their inferior aspects (this is a physical anthropological term denoting the lower surface of the cranium), aligned along the tomb walls, and placed on top of the postcranial material

forming the rest of the bone stacks.



Fig. 3.1: Tombs 221 (left), 155 (middle) and 207 (right). Note the number of articulated skeletons (one, two and three, respectively), and the hyperflexed position of the skeletons (photograph by K. O. Lorentz).



Fig. 3.2: Tomb 192. Note the articulated section of the thorax, and the position of the crania on top of the bone stack (photograph by K. O. Lorentz).

The bone stacks contain elements from all parts of the body, and the MNI (minimum number of individuals; for method see Adams and Konigsberg 2008) counts based separately on postcranial and cranial elements are in agreement, and indicate corresponding MNIs for these bone stacks. Some of the bone stacks contain groups of skeletal elements still in articulation (semi-articulated material). It is most likely that these parts of bodies were moved from the area reserved for articulated, primary burials, to the bone stack area *before* decomposition of the body was complete. The *anthropologie de terrain* approach allows us to investigate not only (1) the time intervals that would have elapsed between the primary deposition and this secondary manipulation of cadavers and their parts, but also (2) the important question of whether or not the tomb features within which such manipulations occurred were filled in between each subsequent primary burial episode, or were left empty of soil.¹² Several characteristics¹³ indicate that the tomb features were indeed left unfilled between burials. These include: (1) the closeness of bone elements to each other within the bone stacks,¹⁴ (2) the orientation and placement of ribs in articulated burials, (3) the characteristic displacement of crania, mandibles, and cervical vertebrae of articulated individuals,¹⁵ and (4) the fineness of the sediment around the burials.¹⁶ The following discussion will address some of the evidence that there is for the secondary manipulation of bodies and their parts within the burial features of Souskiou-Laona. Space does not permit a fuller discussion of these examples, but it is hoped that what follows gives a flavour of the

variety of bodily manipulations and pathways of fragmentation within the mortuary contexts of Souskiou-*Laona*.

Tomb 192

In Tomb 192 the bone stack contains an articulated section of the thorax – that is, a series of thoracic vertebrae and the accompanying ribs (Fig. 3.2). The labile costo-sternal articulations seem to have decomposed prior to the moving of this body section to the bone stack. The articulations between the thoracic vertebrae and the ribs are not particularly labile, nor persistent, and the fact that they were intact at the time of this part being moved to the bone stack gives an indication of the length of the interval that occurred between two successive primary burials – months rather than years, given the climate.

Tomb 207

Tomb 207 contains a triple burial (Fig. 3.1, right) that clearly occurred during one single burial episode, judging from the articulation and location of bones and the closeness of the bodies to each other. An additional single right upper arm was discovered at the side of the tomb, at the junction of the sizeable bone stack and the area containing the articulated burials. This right arm was complete with the shoulder girdle, including the scapula and the clavicle, still articulated with the right humerus. Interestingly, the scapulo-thoracic junction is one of the most labile in the body, and would probably have decomposed within weeks rather than months, given the Cypriot climate. While the articulation between the humerus and the shoulder girdle is not one of the most persistent, it was still intact at the time when the body from which this part originated was moved to make room for the three simultaneous interments in Tomb 207. These cases indicate that, at least in some cases, the time span between successive burial episodes was relatively short.

Tomb 125

Preliminary results from Tomb 125 indicate a lack of complete primary burials; however, the bone material recovered from the tomb is not fully disarticulated. The contents of this feature seems to consist mainly of loose crania, and the arms and legs of several individuals, complete with the bones of the shoulder and pelvic girdle. The presence of some articulated hands and feet complete with phalanges suggests that the bodies from which these parts originate had not yet reached an advanced stage of decomposition at the time the separation of the extremities from the rest of the body occurred. While the scapulo-thoracic junction is one of the most labile in the body, the articulations between the sacrum and the last lumbar vertebra, the sacrum and the ilium, and the femur and the pelvis are some of the most persistent in the skeleton. This begs the question of whether the lower extremities were intentionally severed from the bodies. Circumstantial evidence includes a flint blade deposited on the pelvis of an articulated burial found in another tomb. Unfortunately, the poor preservation status of the skeletal material at Souskiou-*Laona* does not allow for analyses of possible cut marks.¹⁷ The above issues warrant further research.

What is clear, however, is that whole cadavers were transported to this extramural cemetery site, where they became subsequently reduced to their constituent skeletal elements. Some of these parts seem to have received particular emphasis. As an example one can state the placement of the crania in a particular location and position within the tomb. The larger longbones were also afforded special treatment, through their intentional placement along the tomb walls, often aligned with each other, and placed on top of the more irregular postcranial bones. Parts of several individuals were mixed or combined in this manner. This practice is significant as it amounts to the obliteration of the individual

skeleton in favour of a communal reorganisation, the bonestack.

Body parts and fragmentation in anthropomorphic depictions

Anthropomorphic depictions occur throughout the prehistoric and later periods in Cyprus, in both settlement and burial contexts. The burial programme at Chalcolithic settlements and cemetery sites includes the placement of anthropomorphic depictions on or with the body or its parts: these depictions take the form of small figurines carved out of greenish stone (picrolite), and ceramic anthropomorphic vessels (Crewe *et al.* 2005; Peltenburg *et al.* 1998). Anthropomorphic depictions or their fragments are also sometimes found within general settlement deposits. Many of the picrolite figurines show use wear and repair (Goring 1992), indicating use during life; this is consistent with the depiction of such anthropomorphic figures worn on the necks of ceramic and some picrolite figurines (Fig. 3.3), as well as contextual evidence from burials, sometimes found with necklaces of dentalium shell and picrolite (see *e.g.* Grave 47 at Kissonerga-Mosphilia; Croft *et al.* 1999). Thus the contextual and iconographic evidence show very particular associations of *depicted* bodies, and certain body parts, with both the actual, living body, as well as the body of the deceased, the dead body. When considering the body and its parts, two issues of particular interest arise from the analyses of Chalcolithic Cypriot anthropomorphic depictions: (1) the manipulation of depicted bodies and their particular parts through fragmentation and modification; and (2) the emphasis of particular body parts through exaggeration, special decoration, ambiguity and dual meanings. These two aspects will now be explored in more detail.



Fig. 3.3: Anthropomorphic figurines made of ceramics (left), and picrolite stone (right). Note the depictions of anthropomorphic pendants on the necks of both figurines, and the painted depiction of an emerging infant on the panel between the legs of the ceramic figurine (photographs by K. O. Lorentz, courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus and E. Peltenburg)

Emphasis of particular body parts

The shape of the neck and head of both the picrolite and the ceramic figurines has been characterised by many researchers as phallic. The up-turned face and the exaggerated, elongated neck occur in the ceramic figurines depicted at the moment of giving birth (Fig. 3.3, left), as well as on most of the picrolite figurines (Fig. 3.3, right; Fig. 3.4, left).

The very particular posture of the picrolite figurines with outstretched arms and knees tucked up corresponds to the position of arms and legs in ceramic figurines shown in the act of giving birth (Fig. 3.3). Arms are often further accentuated with paint and relief. Similarities between the body position depicted in anthropomorphic cruciform figurines, and the positioning of the actual dead body in tombs may afford further insights: it is tempting to draw comparisons between the flexed knees of the buried individuals and the tucked up knees of the anthropomorphic cruciform figurines that have been found in the Souskiou-*Laona* tombs, as well as other Middle Chalcolithic tombs (Lorentz forthcoming b). In some cases the arms of the buried individual are somewhat outstretched (*e.g.* Tomb 207 at Souskiou-*Laona*). As illustrated by Figure 3.4, the body position in cruciform figurines, and the flexed position of burials are somewhat reminiscent of each other.

In the depicted bodies the abdomen and the womb also received special emphasis through their somewhat realistic rendering in 3D, sometimes complete with an emerging infant (Fig. 3.3, left), as well as painted decoration. Goring's use-wear analysis has detected signs of repeated handling¹⁸ in these areas. Many scholars have observed the frequent absence of the mouth in Chalcolithic picrolite figurines, but no satisfactory interpretation has been offered. Unless the absence of mouths is due to vagaries of preservation (*e.g.* in the form of deteriorated paint on picrolite figures), it represents a conscious omission within a medium that provides detailed renderings of the eyes, nose, ears and even hair. The rendering of the neck and head of picrolite and ceramic figurines in a phallic form (Fig. 3.4, left), and the shapes suggestive of male genitalia on whole figurines when viewed from different angles seem to integrate this quintessentially male body part into what initially seems to represent only the female aspect of reproduction. This androgynous whole, which combines aspects of male and female body parts, seems to pervade the anthropomorphic media during the Cypriot Chalcolithic.

Manipulation of figurines

In burial, the picrolite cruciform figurines are often associated with women and children, although this association is not exclusive. These figurines have been related to childbirth because of their morphological similarities with the ceramic birthing figurines.¹⁹ The fragmented and intentionally mutilated picrolite figure shown in Figure 3.5 was found within a burial. Goring (1992) has studied this case in particular detail. The cruciform figure had obviously been worn during life. The original head had broken away, and the neck stump was smoothed and provided with a new suspension hole, which also shows signs of wear. Before its deposition within a burial, the body of the figure had been mutilated by striking off its right²⁰ arm, and by chipping on this arm stump and on the lower left limb. After this breakage, which would have compromised the integrity of the body, the figure was exposed to fire and dipped in red matter before being deposited within the grave (*ibid.*). Goring suggests that the intentional breakage, burning and smearing with red matter might be explained by evoking the idea of its intentional 'killing', "perhaps because its power failed in some respect (for example the owner dying in childbirth), or the physical destruction of its form to destroy its special power, perhaps the end of its active use" (Goring 1992: 39). It is difficult to substantiate such arguments – what remains certain,

however, is that at some point before the interment of an actual, biological body, and the bodily decomposition and disintegration that followed, the accompanying figurine had been subjected to elaborate and successive treatments that led to its alteration and disintegration – that is the loss and damage to specific parts of the body.

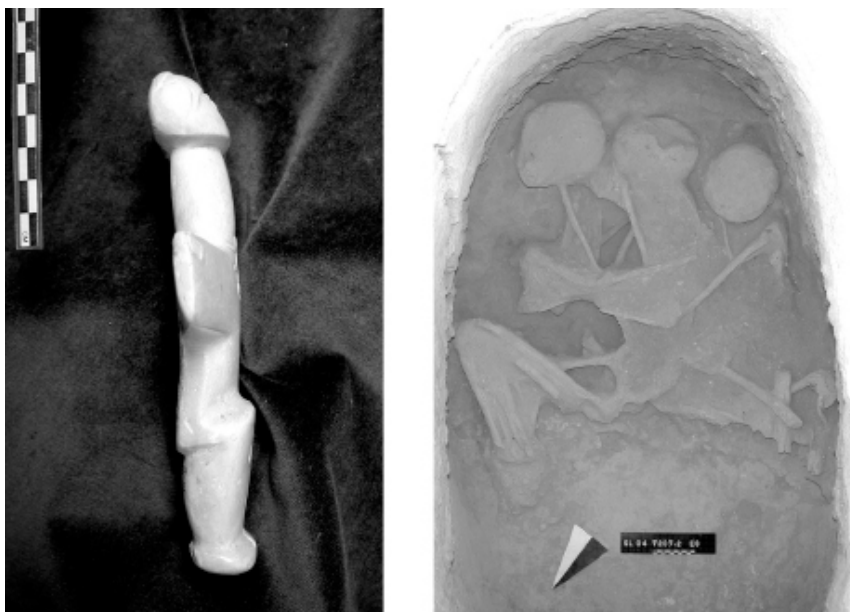


Fig. 3.4: A right lateral view of the anthropomorphic figurine in Fig. 3.3 (right), and a close-up photograph of the triple burial in tomb 207 at Souskiou-Laona cemetery. Note the similarities between the body position depicted in anthropomorphic cruciform figurine, and the positioning of the skeletons (photographs by K. O. Lorentz, courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus).

Ceramic figurines were also manipulated. Goring writes on the deliberate breaking of anthropomorphic figurines from the *Kissonerga-Mosphilia cache*, and their simultaneous deposition within a model of a building: “[I]t seems that either the power and efficacy of the figurines must have been revoked in some way or the destruction was an end in itself” (Goring 1991b: 55). The localised surface alterations on the ceramic and stone figures are interpreted by Goring as evidence that the figurines were frequently handled, possibly as teaching or initiation aids, and/or held during childbirth.



Fig. 3.5: An anthropomorphic figurine of picrolite stone. Note the signs of breakage, chipping, and red matter, as well as the neck stump with a new suspension hole (photograph by K.O. Lorentz)

Thus the figurines relating to reproduction and childbirth required at least in some instances specific treatment and modification through fragmentation and severing of body parts, but also through repair.

Parts to a whole: Bodies in the Cypriot Chalcolithic

These brief considerations on bodies and their parts in Chalcolithic Cyprus reveal patterns of conceptual and practical emphasis on particular areas of the body, or if you like, body parts. Within Cypriot archaeology, as within many other regional archaeologies, the analyses of anthropomorphic depictions and human skeletal remains have traditionally been conducted by separate specialists. This division of labour has not allowed for a full appreciation and use of the varied datasets relating to the human body, and the changing relations between body parts and bodies whole. Viewing these traditionally separate data sources in conjunction to each other, it becomes clear that intentional practices of fragmentation and reintegration affected both types of material. These emphases and manipulations occurring within these different media should be seen as parts to a whole, a Chalcolithic discourse on and of the body.

The human head received particular treatment within tombs in the form of ‘pillows’ for

primary burials, and subsequent particular placement of crania on bone stacks, while the anthropomorphic medium depicts the head and neck in phallic form. This emphasis on the phallus is also evident in the ambiguously rendered anthropomorphic depictions, shifting between the whole and its parts depending on the angle of the gaze (Fig. 3.3, Fig. 3.4, left). Arms and legs also received emphasis both in burials and depictions, seen in the manipulation of whole extremities and their parts within the mortuary context, and with their depiction and emphasis in figurines; the arms and legs of buried figurines were sometimes also intentionally damaged.

A pervasive aspect of Chalcolithic anthropomorphic depictions is the emphasis on the period just before birth, and the moment of birth itself. The emphasis seems to be on the single entity of mother-foetus, rather than the rendering of two clearly separate bodies that begins to occur only during the later periods of Cypriot prehistory.²¹ The emphasis and concern with parturition can be theorised in terms of a whole dividing into parts: the birth giver, and the newborn. During the Chalcolithic the emphasis remains firmly on the whole – the body of the foetus/newborn is never rendered in 3D, but only as a painted 2D reference, or an unseen presence in the womb – while depictions of the later periods emphasise the two separate entities, including separate 3D depictions of the babies' bodies.

The manipulation of whole cadavers and their parts during the Chalcolithic should be understood in the context of earlier and later practices. The burials of the preceding periods are most often single primary inhumations.²² The systematic and consistent secondary burial practices evidenced at the Souskiou-*Laona* cemetery are thus a clear departure from earlier practices, and it is likely that they represent a very different conception of the body and its parts. It is worth noting that some members in this society would have been engaged in the intentional arrangement of bones in the bone stacks,²³ and would have handled whole limbs and other parts of the body.

What took place in these Chalcolithic tomb features can be interpreted as the intentional combination of several individual bodies and their parts, to form an entity (bone stack) that was conceptualised as a whole, representing, perhaps, a kinship group or an entity based on other forms of socio-cultural difference.²⁴ The tombs thus functioned as locations for changing relationships between parts and wholes: whole bodies gradually reduced to pieces, to be subsequently integrated into a larger whole.²⁵ While the crania may have allowed individual recognition of the dead by people entering the tombs, based on memory or even perishable markers, differentiation at the level of individual of the commingled postcranial elements within the bone stacks would hardly have been possible.

The placement of depicted bodies on the bodies of the living (as evidenced by use wear), the dead (as evidenced by contextual burial data), and the depicted (as evidenced by anthropomorphic 'depictions within depictions') points to particular connections between the living, the dead and the depicted bodies, their parts, and functions. The processes of fragmentation and reintegration seem to have been employed to move between parts and wholes, bodies of the living and the dead, the individual²⁶ and the communal.

Notes

- 1 This ambiguity furtheracerbates the outcries resulting from retention of body tissues by some medical establishments.
- 2 I have purposefully left out discussion of *in vivo* bodily modifications, on which I have written elsewhere (Lorentz 2008a, 2008c, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2006, 2005, 2004a, 2003a, 2003b, 2002, in press a, b)
- 3 Further limitations are presented by the culturally contingent nature of language and our

terminologies.

- 4 In addition, the basic methods and techniques of physical anthropological analysis and references to primary literature can be viewed in Schwartz (1995).
- 5 The corpse and the bones move between the initial deposition and the time of excavation.
- 6 I have consciously left out most considerations of the manipulation and possible fragmentation or partitioning of the living body, except for a brief discussion on parturition.
- 7 The history of excavation and research on the Chalcolithic cemeteries of Cyprus is a tale of woe, with continuous looting occurring at the cemetery sites of Souskiou-*Vathykakas*, at least since the 1960ies, followed by three separate excavation projects with focus mostly on artefacts and very little, if any, concern afforded to the fragmented bodies of the dead, their context and positioning. Thus the recent, complete excavation of the nearby cemetery of Souskiou-*Laona*, with physical anthropologists present in the field, represents a significant step forward in understanding Chalcolithic burial practices. It has also produced a rich variety of anthropomorphic depictions in context, throwing light on the use and manipulation of the depicted body, evidenced also on settlement sites.
- 8 These bottle-shaped features were most likely carved in the *havara* rock by using antler and water. This hypothesis is based on the marks on the sides of tombs, and experimental work (Crewe *et al.* 2005).
- 9 Partial looting of the site has resulted in four types of tomb status: looted, partially looted with a disturbed burial, partially looted with an intact burial, and intact.
- 10 Analysis of the labile articulations confirm the primary nature of these burials.
- 11 The arms and legs of the burials are flexed, a position that would have not only allowed the placement of the corpses into the relatively small tomb cuts, but also the transportation of corpses to the outcrop. *Anthropologie de terrain* analysis indicates that these hyperflexed burials were likely wrapped or bundled up prior to burial.
- 12 This question has been discussed at length previously, however without the benefit of the *anthropologie de terrain* approach. The capstone cuts, and some capstones *in situ* would certainly have allowed such a practice, keeping large scavengers and substantial amounts of sediment out until the need to bury again occurred. This circumstantial evidence is not, however, conclusive.
- 13 Based on the detailed knowledge of decomposition and dynamics of empty spaces provided by *anthropologie de terrain*.
- 14 There is no accumulation of soil in between parts of different bodies.
- 15 Many of the crania are displaced posteriorly, in a manner consistent with the *anthropologie de terrain* premise that the bloating of the decomposing body in an empty space displaces the cranium. The falling and displacement of mandibles is also consistent with this, as well as the displacement of the cervical vertebrae, the articulations between which are highly labile.
- 16 Likely due to percolation of fine silty soil through cracks between the capstone and the capstone cut.
- 17 In any case, some researchers maintain that people skilful in butchering animals do not necessarily cut to the bone, but restrict themselves to the soft tissues, in order to lengthen the use-life of the cutting instrument.
- 18 In the form of surface alterations, *e.g.* polish.
- 19 Goring, Peltenburg and Bolger have interpreted the Kissonerga-Mosphilia figurine cache, and indeed the whole Chalcolithic corpus of anthropomorphs in relation to childbirth (Peltenburg *et al.* 1991, 1998). The cruciform pendants found in settlements and cemeteries would have been fertility charms, worn during life for successful childbirth, and modified and deposited with the dead in the case of unsuccessful parturition or infant deaths.
- 20 The extremities of the figurine body are seen anatomically here, that is the 'left' and 'right' as to the limbs are designated according to anatomical view point, rather than the gaze of the observer.
- 21 During the Early Bronze Age the young appear already born, tightly swaddled to cradleboards, both as freestanding figurines, or as part of composite vessels, such as the Vounous bowl (Karageorghis 1991). This type of depiction continues into the Middle Bronze Age, when some plank figurines integrate a larger female holding a cradleboarded or swaddled infant (Karageorghis

- 1991).
- 22An exception is known from the Cypro-PPNB water wells at Kissonerga-Mosphilia, which contained disarticulated human remains in what seems like a secondary context. A further isolated example of mortuary practice that may have aimed toward fragmentation is the disposal of a young sub-adult in a midden at the Neolithic settlement site of Kalavassos-Tenta (Todd 1987; Lorentz 2003b).
- 23Placement of crania on top of the stack, and often along the edges of the tomb feature; longbones aligned, and often along the edges of the tomb feature; more irregular bones at the very bottom.
- 24Ethnographies show that burial groups may be organised in terms of family and kinship ties, but also gender, ethnicity, status, type of death, *etc.*
- 25This harks back to the socio-cultural and physical processes through which ancestors were constructed, documented by Parker Pearson (1999) in Madagascar.
- 26In Maurice Bloch's sense of dividual and individual (Bloch 1989).

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4. 'Deviant' burials in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic of Central and South Eastern Europe

John Chapman

According to a popular 19th century North Yorkshire legend (Richmondshire District Council 1999), a certain Mr. Robert Willance of Richmond was out hunting one day in 1606 when a thick mist descended over his track. He was riding an inexperienced horse, which bolted in fear at the fog and fell over the edge of Whitcliffe Scar. The horse died in the fall, but Willance escaped with a broken leg, which was later amputated in his home and buried separately in St. Mary's churchyard, Richmond. Willance recovered well and was later the Alderman of Richmond in 1608. Before his death in 1616, he had expressed in his will a strong desire to be re-united with his amputated leg after he died – a wish that was inscribed on his tombstone in St. Mary's churchyard. Willance's will was respected, leading to the excavation of the errant leg and its re-unification with the remainder of Willance's body in his 'second' grave. This "human determination to assert wholeness in the face of inevitable decay and fragmentation" (Bynum 1991: 26) was just as strong at the time of Willance's burial as in the Medieval times. However, within a century, the emergence of a new aesthetic of the part revealed doubts that the different body parts could ever successfully be reassembled into a new whole. Instead, the 'part' gained more semiotic complexity than ever before (Hillman and Mazzio 1997: xviii).

This narrative and its occurrence at the start of a century of profound social and ideological change in respect of body parts illustrates that the status of the body part can never be taken for granted, reminding us of the ubiquitous tension between the body part and the complete body. This tension can be expressed in different ways, including ways of thinking and linkages to origins. The East African Oromo society recognises three complementary ways of thinking – abdominal thinking, which is unifying and harmonising, representing a dissolution of boundaries; head thinking, a patriarchal and hierarchical, male way of thinking which emphasises divisions and distinctiveness; and heart thinking, a female form of thinking related to the prophetic, the poetic, the oracular and the inspirational, linked further to hearth and home, heritage and community (Jackson and Karp 1990: 16–17). The fragmentation of Oromo bodies after death is thus a gendered division of ways of thinking about the world. Another way of gendering body parts is the Gimi (New Guinea) belief that flesh is female and must be removed from the male bones of the deceased, before being returned to the female lineage, thus allowing the spirit to roam in the male-gendered forest (Strathern 1982).

Other ideologies emphasise not so much gender relations as the significance of the

individual actor as symbolised by the whole body – a capitalist concept of ‘individuality’ that emerged coevally with dividuality in early Modern Europe (Hillman and Mazzio 1997). Some colleagues have transferred this ideology to Later European Prehistory, whereby the increasing tendency towards the burial of complete bodies has been interpreted in terms of the rise and increased importance of the ‘individual’ (e.g. Harrison and Heyd 2007, Treherne 1995, cf. criticisms of this approach by Fowler 2004: box 3.2). The burial of such ‘individuals’ may, however, represent but a single stage in protracted mortuary practices. A common Melanesian attitude to death is to bury complete bodies soon after death, with later exhumation of the body in order to emphasise its dividuality through fragmentation of its parts for exchange with living relatives (Hirsch 1990).

However, the burial of complete bodies has many potential interpretations. Many societies use the complete body to express a summary statement about the whole of the deceased’s life. A good example is the ‘Are’are society, where the death of a member stimulates the collection of all of the deceased’s life-time possessions to enable a brief, but crucial, reconstitution of the deceased as a ‘complete person’. After the act of completeness, the body of the deceased is fragmented and the parts and the deceased’s possessions are divided up again among the living, as a further stage – this time a deconstitution – of the deceased person. The ‘Are’are people believe that these exchanges between the dead and the living are crucial to future change and exchange relations (Fowler 2004: 84–85). Even in societies where personhood is based upon relations of dividuality, such as the Melpa (Strathern and Stewart 1988), the complete body in death can summarise all of the relationships symbolised by the exchange of bodily fluids and objects during a person’s whole life. Moreover, societies in which personhood is seen as a series of gendered stages, such as the Mekeo, can use the whole body as a re-unification of all the stages through which it has passed (Mosko 1992). Thus, completion may define the proper way to contain the many dividual parts of a person’s multiple identity rather than any significant difference between one person and other persons. The links between a person buried in complete form and all those other persons who partook of their identity and contributed to their personhood are frequently symbolised through the practice of fragmentation, whereby only part of an object (or ornament set) is buried with the corpse but other parts are curated outside of the grave (Chapman 2007, Jones 2002, Woodward 2002). The large number of instances of fragment enchainment known from many parts of prehistoric Europe (and beyond) suggest that social relations of dividuality are more common than is widely accepted (Chapman and Gaydarska 2007).

As much as the biography of the deceased her/himself, we should be in no doubt that corporeal completeness can also be used to make powerful statements about the categorisation strategies of society. While partial body burial may symbolise the importance of individuals and/or household relationships, the complete body may represent the power of the entire corporate group. If we can agree that standard burial as an individual corpse does not necessarily indicate the prevalence of an ideology of individuality, then we should be able to accept its converse, *i.e.* that partial burials are not always and necessarily concerned with the denial of *in*-dividual identity!

The material world exists alongside, and inter-digitating with, these forms of distributed personhood, whose logic relies on the links of a person with all other persons in a network of relationships – as Strathern emphasises, it is the links that make the person, not the individual body (Strathern 1988). It should be emphasised that the theoretical support for prehistoric dividuals cannot yet be separated from the relationships of dividuality characterised by patterning in the material culture. For this reason, it is worth turning briefly

to the materiality of fragmentation practices before we examine partial burials in Balkan Prehistory.

The deliberate fragmentation of objects with the continued use of the fragments 'after the break' is well-established in Balkan Prehistory (Chapman 2000a, Chapman and Gaydarska 2007). Methodologies have been developed for the study of two aspects of object biographies which can inform us about this: re-fitting of fragments from the same object at both the intra-site as well as the inter-site level; and the study of 'microstratigraphies' of objects which can document the continued use of fragments by the recognition of burning, wear traces or decoration on the fracture (Chapman and Gaydarska 2007, Gaydarska, Chapman, Raduntcheva and Koleva 2007).

One convincing explanation for the now commonly recognised pattern of deliberate fragmentation is that of enchainment – the linking of person to person through object (fragment) exchange (Chapman 2000a).¹ A good example is the way that parts of the same flint blade were placed in different burials under the same mound in the Chvalynsk group site of Shlyakovsky, in the Volgograd region, in order to emphasise the close enchainment relations of the two newly dead persons (Klepikov 1994). Since the two graves were dug into the barrow at different levels, we should accept the likelihood that the deceased died at different times, with the implication of the curation of one blade fragment until the death of the second person. Equally, fragments of vessels placed in the grave can be used to create enchainment relations between the domain of the dead and that of the living, as symbolised by re-fitting parts of the same vessel (*e.g.* two parts of a Late Copper Age vessel from Durankulak, one part of which was in Grave 584, the other deposited in a house in Level VIII on the adjoining tell on the Big Island; Todorova, Dimov, Bojadžiev, Vajsov, Dimitrov and Avramova 2002: 59–60 and Tab. 99/11). On this reading, enchainment relations become critical to the formation of personhood in Balkan Prehistory, since they materialise these relationships.

Recent fragmentation studies propose that the relationship between material culture and dead persons was conceptualised in similar ways:

object fragments : complete object : set of objects
human bone : human body : set of bodies
(cemetery)

(Chapman 2000a: 6–7; Fig. 4.1). In these studies, I did not seek to clarify the similarities and differences between enchainment materialised by objects or through human skeletal parts. Instead, the notion that the distribution of human bodily parts enabled the materialisation of kinship links through the mobility of ancestral bones (2000a: 7) was left to imply a process similar to that with objects. It may not be wise at this juncture to assume a special relationship between human bones and kinship relations. While it is true that human bones do not merely symbolise kinship, they actually constitute it, the objectification of persons in objects may well mean that objects used to create enchainment links can be said to constitute kinship relations just as much as human bones.

There were two ways of creating an image of the human body in the Balkan Neolithic and Chalcolithic. The first concerns the manner in which the human body is displayed in mortuary performance, while the second concerns the making of anthropomorphic figurines. Whereas the differences in the two images are greater than their similarities, it would be unwise to overlook some of the potentially shared principles at work in the biographies of the two forms of image. If multiple fragmentation of the majority of fired clay figurines is characteristic of the latter, we may expect some form of this practice in the former, in the form of the fragmentation of the human body prior to burial. Equally, if hybridity is a

characteristic, albeit less frequent, of the latter, we may well expect it as well in the former, revealed as the combination of body parts from different humans or animals.

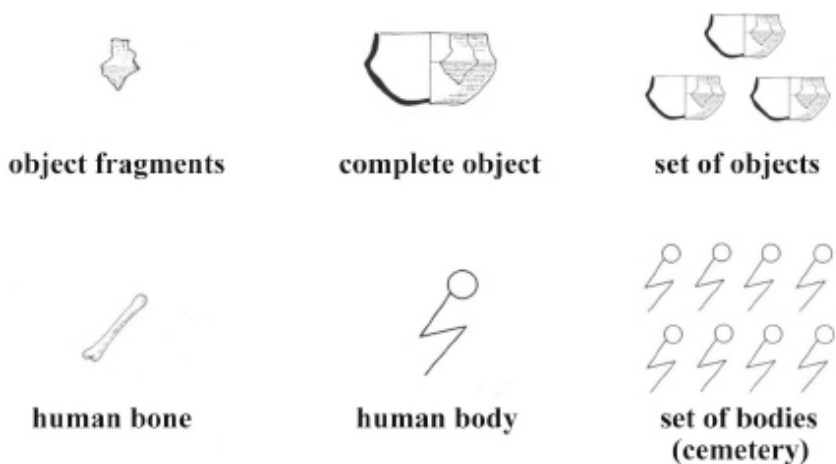


Fig. 4.1: The relationships between parts of objects (bodies), whole objects (bodies) and sets of objects (bodies)

As a heuristic guide to the terrain covered in this exploration, I shall use the term ‘deviant’ burial to specify those burials in which there are no post-depositional reasons (*e.g.* the destruction or disturbance of the mortuary deposit) to explain the finding of a partial burial and yet, nonetheless, we do not find a complete skeleton. This is a wide-ranging definition of the term ‘deviant’, in effect creating a binary opposition between ‘normal’ complete burials and those where any one (or more) of a variety of unusual practices can be identified. The use of the term ‘deviant’ carries with it no *a priori* implication of moral, legal or ethnic differences from the norm and is similar to the first strand of the two-part definition used by Reynolds for Anglo-Saxon burials: “in terms of the nature of the burial, I define anything as deviant which does not conform to what can be defined as normative burial practice – prone, decapitated, amputated body parts, corpse weighted down with rocks, *etc.* The second strand concerns the geographical location of burials and I consider deviants to be those buried away from normative community cemeteries – at crossroads, on boundaries *etc.*” (Reynolds forthcoming).

In this study, the term ‘deviant’ is also used as a catch-all term to denote variations on the dominant theme of individual complete burial that would appear, for the most part, to characterise the Neolithic and Chalcolithic of the Balkans and Central Europe. Nonetheless, we shall immediately begin to differentiate varied kinds of ‘deviant’ burial to provide a more nuanced picture of those social practices relating the two main forms of fragment enchainment – human bones and object parts. There are four areas on which I wish to focus in this chapter:

- *What are the types of deviant burials found in later Balkan Prehistory?*
- *How frequent/significant are they in their social contexts?*
- *How different were they from other, ‘non-deviant’ burials?*
- *In terms of their meaning, how does enchainment by object differ from enchainment by*

body part?

This analysis will tack between the detailed meanings and symbolism of individual graves at one specific site and the general trends in mortuary practices found over the *longue durée* and across many regions in later Balkan Prehistory.

Types of deviant burial

A survey of burial practices in the Balkan Neolithic and Chalcolithic (for key sites, see Fig. 4.2) provides strong evidence for multi-stage mortuary practices and body part mobility through five different practices (Fig. 4.3–4.7). It should be recalled that burials of two or more complete individuals, such as a mother and child, are not included in this survey. I wish to emphasise that the preservation of burials is always an issue – especially with child burials and with certain body parts – especially hands, feet, patellae and hyoid bones (Bello and Andrews 2006: 3–6). The long-term pattern shows that between 1/5 and 1/10 of all graves have been destroyed. If ‘badly-preserved’ graves are added to this total, this can rise to two-thirds of the total burials. This considerable data loss must caution against the acceptance of spurious patterns supported by minor differences in frequencies.

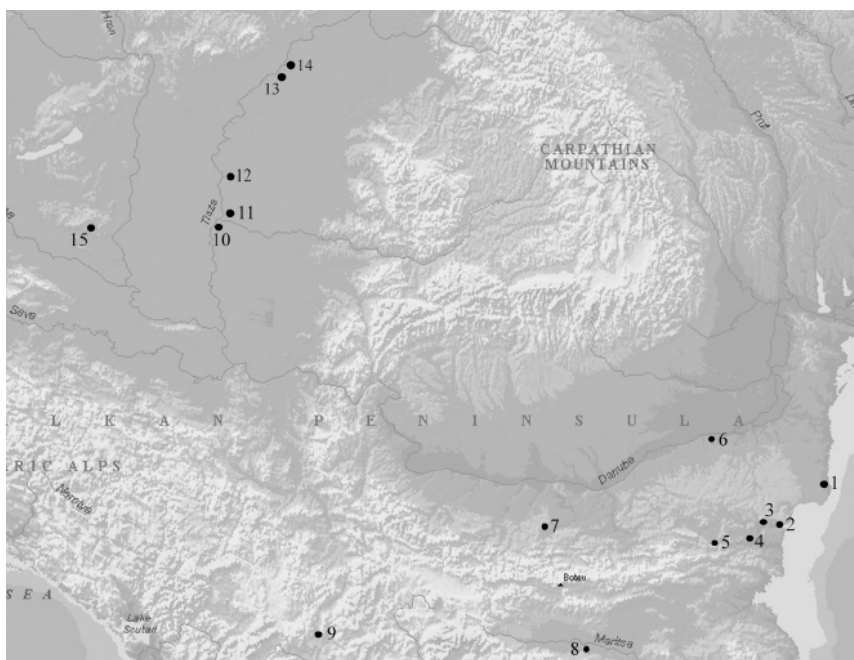


Fig. 4.2: Location map of sites mentioned in the text: 1 – Durankulak; 2 – Varna; 3 – Devnja; 4 – Goljamo Delchevo; 5 – Vinitsa; 6 – Maluk Preslavets; 7 – Goran-Slatina; 8 – Orlovo; 9 – Anza; 10 – Čoka; 11 – Hódmezővásárhely sites; 12 – Endrőd 3/6; 13 – Tiszapolgár-Basatanya; 14 – Polgár-Csőszhalom; 15 – Zengővárkony

fragmentation – the sub-division of the skeleton into different and major parts (e.g. the torso), some or many of which were never buried in the context of the ‘final’ burial

(Appendix 1 provides examples covering a wide range of periods and areas)

addition – the deliberate incorporation of human bones from another skeleton of the same age/biological sex identity into a burial of a more or less complete burial (Appendix 2)

removal – the extraction from the grave of a largely complete skeleton of one human bone or a small number of human bones for removal to another context (Appendix 3)

re-combination – the creation of a hybrid body by the placing of part of one human body in juxtaposition to that of part of the body of another human of different age/sex or another species (Appendix 4)

substitution – the replacement of a human bone in an otherwise complete burial by the bone of another species or by a material object (Appendix 5)

re-integration – the completion of a partial skeleton by placing the missing bone back in the anthropologically correct place but clearly without the previously destroyed articulation. (This form of deviant burial, represented by the Robert Willance case, has not yet been encountered in later Balkan Prehistory.)

It is clear from this brief survey that the most important category is the fragmentary burial – a multi-stage mortuary treatment where burial follows the fragmentation of the body somewhere else but in the grave and presumably before primary burial. Fragmentary burials are more widespread than all of the other types of deviant burials put together. In some cases, different types of deviant burials are found together at the same site. A good example of a cemetery with a wide variety of deviant burials is the Goran-Slatina barrow cemetery, in North Bulgaria. Goran-Slatina is a cemetery with eight barrows, containing a total of 34 graves, all of which were fully excavated in 1980–81 (Kitov, Panayotov and Pavlov 1991). Although there are no examples of substitution burial, the 13 deviant burials comprise one fragmentation burial, nine burials where removals have been made, and three additions with extra bones from another person. There is a concentration of deviant burials in Barrow 3 (three removal burials and three additional burials), with one deviant burial in Barrow 4 and two in each of Barrows 5, 7 and 9 (Fig. 4.8). There is no evidence from these Goran Slatina burials to suggest inter-cutting of graves or disturbance of graves by later interments.

DATE	SITE	FORM OF FRAGMENTATION
Early Neolithic	Lepenski Vir IIIb	Head removed from body: post-cranial remains buried
Early Neolithic	Smulčić	Head removed from body: post-cranial remains buried
Early Neolithic	Kremenulo – Višesava	Skull separated from body for separate burial
Early Neolithic	Hódmezővásárhely – Zsoldos Tanya	Skull separated from body for separate burial
Early Neolithic	Slavonski Brod	Skull removed from body of each of two burials in 'Pit-dwelling' 9
Early Neolithic	Maluk Preslavets	Mandible/maxilla removed from skull: skull buried
Early Neolithic	Zelena Pecina III	Skull and hand bones removed from rest of body for separate burial
Early Neolithic	Hódmezővásárhely – Kovacs Tanya	Long bones removed from rest of body for separate burial
Early Neolithic	Maluk Preslavets	Long bones removed from rest of body for separate burial
Early Neolithic	Obre I	Body fragmented and parts buried in midden with animal bones
Early Neolithic	Hódmezővásárhely – Vata Tanya	Metacarpals and metatarsals removed from rest of body for separate burial
Early Neolithic	Azmaska mogla	Human bones removed from body and buried in vessel
Early Neolithic	Azmaska mogla	Skull fragmented and fragments and other bones buried in vessel
Early Neolithic	Kazanluk	Skull, vertebrae and phalanges removed from body for separate burial
Copper Age	Zengővárkony	29 bodies buried without their crania
Late Copper Age	Derna	Body disarticulated and buried after removal of skull
Late Copper Age	Vuutua	Body disarticulated and buried after removal of skull
Late Copper Age	Hungarian barrows	Parts of skull removed from remainder of skull for separate burial
Late Copper Age	Hungarian barrows	Long bones detached from body for separate burial
Late Copper Age	Hungarian barrows	Parts of skull and several long bones detached from body for separate burial
Early Bronze Age	Bulgarian barrows	Parts of skull and several long bones detached from body for separate burial
Early Bronze Age	Bulgarian barrows	Parts of skull and several vertebrae detached; remainder of post-cranial skeleton buried

Fig. 4.3: Examples of fragmentation of human bodies prior to final burial

DATE	SITE	FORM OF ADDITION
Late Copper Age	Varna I Grave 43	Extra adult human femur in the grave of a 40 to 50-year-old male with two complete femora
Late Copper Age	Vinitza grave 3	Extra adult long bone in grave of 13 to 14-year-old child
Late Copper Age	Dervia Grave 6	Extra foetus remains in female grave
Copper Age	Zengővárkony Grave 114	Adult male burial with additional legs of child under large sherds
Early Bronze Age	Goran-Slatina Barrow 3/Grave 3	Adult long bone in child's grave
Early Bronze Age	Goran-Slatina Barrow 3/Grave 4	Adult mandible near child's pelvis
Early Bronze Age	Goran-Slatina Barrow 3/Grave 7	Part of additional adult cranium in an adult's grave

Fig. 4.4: Burials with additions from other human skeletal material

DATE	SITE	FORM OF REMOVAL
Early Neolithic	Obce I	Part of skull removed from skull for separate burial
Early Neolithic	Obce I	Hand removed from body; rest of body buried
Early Neolithic	Slavonski Brod	Body complete except for removal of parts of skull
Early Bronze Age	Bulgarian barrows	Body complete except for removal of parts of skull
Early Bronze Age	Bulgarian barrows	Body complete except for removal of mandible
Early Bronze Age	Bulgarian barrows	Body complete except for removal of mandible and one foot
Early Bronze Age	Bulgarian barrows	Body complete except for removal of fingers of one hand
Early Bronze Age	Bulgarian barrows	Body complete except for removal of clavicle, scapula and some ribs
Early Bronze Age	Bulgarian barrows	Body complete except for removal of scapula and sternum
Early Bronze Age	Bulgarian barrows	Body complete except for removal of right-side ribs

Fig. 4.5: Near-complete burials with removals of skeletal material

DATE	SITE	FORM OF RE-COMBINATION
Copper Age	Zengővárkony Grave 99	Skull of a 40 to 80-year-old male, with post-cranial skeleton of a 37 to 43-year-old female
Copper Age	Zengővárkony Grave 368	Grave with one skull, as well as bones from several different individuals
Early Bronze Age	Madara Barrow 2/Grave 18	Adult burial with neck decorated by a necklace of perforated human milk teeth

Fig. 4.6: Re-combinations of human skeletal material

DATE	SITE	FORM OF SUBSTITUTION
Early Neolithic	Hódmezővásárhely – Kopancs Tanya	Skull replaced by pot with loom- or net-weight
Copper Age	Zengővárkony (9 graves)	Various substitutions

Fig. 4.7: Graves with substitution of human body parts by objects

BARROW	GRAVE	SKELETAL FINDS
3	6	Skull, axis and atlas missing
3	3	Additional adult long bone in child's grave
3	4	Additional adult mandible near child's pelvis
3	7	Part of additional adult skull in adult grave
3	5	Mandible removed from skeleton
3	9	Some parts of skull moved
4	4	Left foot missing and mandible displaced (but still in grave)
5	2	Maxilla removed
5	5	Phalanx III of hand-bones removed
7	1	Scapula and clavicle removed; some ribs moved
7	3	Part of skull moved onto chest
9	1	Scapula and sternum missing
9	2	Right ribs missing

Fig. 4.8: Deviant burials at the Goran-Slatina barrow cemetery

The frequency of 'deviant' burials – long-term patterning

In an earlier study, examples of deviant burial practices in the Mesolithic, Neolithic and Chalcolithic of South East Europe have been identified (Chapman 2000a: table 5.1). An

example of this body part mobility was the Iron Gates Mesolithic, as demonstrated by the data on body completeness at Vlasac and Lepenski Vir (Chapman 2000a: 135–138 and fig. 5.1). There are close similarities for the body part distribution of these Iron Gates Mesolithic sites in North West Europe, whether in Atlantic Mesolithic burials (Cauwe 2003, Scarre 2002: table 1) or the combinations of partially represented bodies in the earthen long barrows of Southern Britain (King 2003).

The Early Neolithic burials of the 6th millennium BC include the only known Early Neolithic cemetery in the Balkans (Maluk Preslavets: Bačvarov 2003), as well as burials on tells and on flat sites. The widest variety in the frequency of deviant burials is found in the different samples from this period (Bačvarov 2003). While flat sites show low frequencies (9%), the frequencies increase on tells to 27%, reaching two-thirds of the 12 graves in the Maluk Preslavets cemetery. This is not a function of variations in the numbers of destroyed or disturbed graves, which is broadly equal. That the Maluk Preslavets burials are genuinely partial – *i.e.* partial as the result of cultural choice – is shown by the different parts missing from the graves. Skulls are missing from four undisturbed graves and post-cranial elements from a further four undisturbed graves. Moreover, grave goods were only found in deviant graves. The excavators often comment on the state of preservation, including many well-preserved deviant burials (*e.g.* at the Kardzhali and Kovachevo flat sites and the Karanovo and Kazanluk tells: Bačvarov 2003, cf. Minichreiter 2007). The variation in deviant burials thus appears to be a genuine pattern in mortuary practices amongst the first farmers.

The Climax Chalcolithic/Late Neolithic sites of the 5th millennium BC (for definition, see Chapman 2000a: 2–4) include Late Copper cemeteries in North East Bulgaria (Golyamo Delchevo: Todorova, Ivanov, Vasilev, Hopf, Quitta and Kohl 1975, Vinitsa: Raduntcheva 1976, Devnja: Todorova 1971) and the mortuary deposits within the settlement site of Zengővárkony, in Western Hungary (Dombay 1939, 1960, Zoffmann 1972–73). The pattern of destruction and disturbance of graves increases in the larger mortuary complexes of this period, whereas the proportion of ‘deviant’ burials decreases in comparison with the Early Neolithic. The rate of destruction of graves varies between 13% and 22%. This increase relates mostly to the greater length of time over which burials took place, and a higher probability of earlier graves being damaged by later burials or non-mortuary activities. The proportion of deviant graves is highest at Zengővárkony (10%), while they are fewer at Devnja (2%), Vinitsa (3%) and Goljamo Delchevo (8%). The burials at Zengővárkony were distributed in clusters between areas of dwelling and deposition in this large settlement. The burials at Vinitsa and Goljamo Delchevo form small cemeteries outside tells, whereas no settlement was discovered adjacent to the cemetery of Devnja.

The post-Climax, late 4th–3rd millennia BC, barrow landscapes include the Bulgarian barrow cemeteries (Panayotov 1989), for example the large barrow cemetery from Goran – Slatina (Kitov, Panayotov and Pavlov 1991) and the group of barrows on the Alföld Plain of Eastern Hungary (Ecsedy 1979; Fig. 4.2). The barrow burials fall into two groups, each usually with multiple burials under each barrow: single barrows and barrow cemeteries with up to 15 barrows. The difficulty of discovering coeval settlement remains in any region with barrow burials has produced a landscape dominated by dispersed mortuary monuments.² While it may be thought that barrows offered better conditions of preservation for burials, in fact the frequent vertical as well as horizontal expansion of initially small, low barrows meant later digging activities would destroy or damage earlier graves. Taylor has pointed out that, while barrows protect graves, they also attract the attention of prehistoric grave robbers (Taylor 1999). Thus while only 9% of the Bulgarian barrow burials discussed in Panayotov (1989) were destroyed, a further 14% were poorly preserved, with no details

recorded on the skeletal remains. Similarly, in Eastern Hungary, 15% of the barrow burials were destroyed and a further 16% were disturbed, diminishing the sample size by almost a third. The frequency of deviant burials in the Bulgarian sample (21% of all burials: 27% of preserved burials) is more than double that of the Hungarian sample (9% of all burials: 13% of preserved burials).

The most important point emerging from this survey is that the basic *visible* mortuary practice in later Balkan Prehistory was the ‘individual’ burial of complete human bodies. There is undoubtedly a missing fraction of the populations whose burials are as yet invisible to the archaeologist. Nonetheless, the data presented indicate that the practice of deviant burial is a long-term pattern of varying strength, covering the period 6000 to 2500 BC. In addition, there is a minor but significant third practice of collective burial that also occurs but with a specific temporal dimension. Collective burial is commonest in the Early Neolithic (Chapman 2000a), where it occurs on both tells and flat sites in two forms – complete skeletons buried in the same pit (*e.g.* Hódmezővásárhely – Bodzáspart) and multiple deviant burials in the same context (*e.g.* Karanovo, Ajmana and Vinča-Belo Brdo). Within the framework of distributed personhood, collective burial of wholes or parts is a strong signal of the enchainment of the ancestors which, in many ways, is comparable to mortuary practices in the Iron Gates Mesolithic and the Mesolithic and Neolithic of North West Europe.

Deviant burials – how different from normal burials?

Having identified a series of types of deviant burial in later Balkan Prehistory, the next stage in the discussion is to explore possible ways in which these burials are different from complete burials of individual bodies. There are three kinds of evidence to consider: sex ratios, categories of grave goods and inclusions and exclusions of grave goods.

Sex and age ratios

The recording of age and sex attributions for burials from later Balkan Prehistory is patchy at best and non-existent at worst. Moreover, few of the studies used here provided a statement for the methods used for the ageing and sexing. For this reason, I omit any consideration of specific age profiles, since they are particularly poorly recorded. The data for the site samples are incomplete in several ways, which means there are only three samples where it is possible to compare sex ratios for both normal and deviant burials – the small Early Neolithic Maluk Preslavets cemetery, the Anza flat site and the intra-mural burials at Copper Age Zengővárkony. The Maluk Preslavets cemetery sample is small (n=12) but quite carefully recorded. Despite the small numbers, it seems possible that males and females are treated slightly differently. At Anza, there does appear to have been a preference for the burial of children over adults, and adult females over adult males in the Early Neolithic.

Moving to the Copper Age at the Zengővárkony cemetery (n=307), the sample of 185 sexed skeletons allows a comparison of normal and deviant sex ratios. The results differ somewhat from those of Maluk Preslavets, insofar as a higher proportion of adult females’ and children’s burials occurred in normal graves (60%), with a higher proportion of adult male burials in deviant graves (60%). The overall pattern shows a preference for adult males over children over adult females.

In summary, there are minor differences in the sex ratio of those found in normal and

deviant burials in the Early Neolithic and the Copper Age which may not be without significance. But the wider point is that the selection of each person(s) for any kind of burial at any of these sites constitutes inclusion into a discourse concerning the relationship between the newly-dead and the survivors – a discourse with a strongly gendered component. There does appear to have been a shift from the Early Neolithic mortuary selection of children and females over males to a Copper Age selection of males over children and females in both normal and deviant burials. The cause of this change is not so much an issue of varying contexts (intra- vs. extra-mural burial) as an ideological switch to the enchainment of males between the mortuary domain and the land of the living.

General Category	Bulgarian Late Copper Age	Zengővárkony intra-mural burials	Bulgarian barrow burials	Goran-Slatina barrow cemetery	Hungarian barrow burials
Unworked stone	X	-	X	X	-
Chipped stone	-	-	X	-	-
Ground stone tool	X	X	X	-	-
Polished stone tool	X	X	X	X	-
PS ornaments	X	X	X	-	-
Fired clay tools	X	X	-	-	-
Fired clay figurine	X	X	-	-	-
Fired clay ornaments	-	-	-	-	X
Unworked bones	X	X	X	-	X
Bone tools	X	X	-	-	-
Antler tools	X	X	X	-	-
Bone ornaments	-	X	X	X	X
Unworked shells	X	-	-	-	-
Shell ornaments	X	X	X	-	-
Copper/Bronze tools	X	-	X	X	-
Copper ornaments	X	X	X	X	X
Gold ornaments	X	-	X	X	-
Pigments	X	-	X	X	-
Coverings	-	-	-	-	X

Fig. 4.9: List of object categories excluded from deviant burials at the inter-regional scale (x = exclusion)

Grave good categories

The study of grave goods aims to characterise significant associations of grave good categories with either normal or deviant burials. In this analysis, the term ‘category’ refers to the result of human classification processes, by which humans engage with the world (Chapman and Gaydarska 2007: 20–22). Thus, if red ochre lumps have an exclusive association with deviant barrow graves in Hungary, the interpretation is that this grave good category contributed something important to the category of persons under the rubric ‘deviant burial’. Due to a lack of evidence, not all of the burials can be used for this analysis. This leaves the Zengővárkony burials, the barrow burials from the Goran-Slatina cemetery and the regional group of barrow burials in Eastern Hungary. The grave goods found with both grave types at Zengővárkony comprise more categories of stone tools than fired clay than bone/antler. There are relatively few object categories found only with deviant graves, more ornaments than fired clay objects. There is, however, also a long list of object categories that are excluded from deviant graves, including some types of ornaments. At the Goran-Slatina barrow cemetery, the shared object categories found with both grave types comprise ornaments and pigments but not tools, which are mutually exclusive. The deviant burials are characterised by a number of distinctive personal ornaments not found in normal graves (e.g. gold wire ornaments, silver spiral rings and rock crystal beads), while pigments such as manganese and chalk and tool categories such as red flint, copper awls and perforated polished stone axe-hammers were excluded from deviant graves. There are

too few deviant burials in the other Bulgarian barrow cemeteries ($n = 4$) for a comparison with normal burials. Interestingly, however, a suite of ornaments (e.g. copper spirals, bronze rings and limestone discs) from these cemeteries are different from those found in both normal and deviant burials at Goran-Slatina.

In the spatially more dispersed Hungarian barrows shared grave good categories found with both grave types include most frequently pigments, followed by textile coverings and ornaments. The finds of additional animal bones show a mutually exclusive distribution: some types of bones are found in normal graves but not in deviant graves, and *vice versa*. Most of the ornament categories are found in the normal graves and excluded from the deviant burials.

A further higher-level patterning concerns exclusions from deviant burials which are shared between different regional samples (Fig. 4.9).

This inter-regional, long-term pattern of grave good exclusions is very complex. Only one single object category has been excluded from the deviant burials in all the five samples – copper ornaments, a visible sign of personal identity generally taken to signify high status. Three further object categories have been excluded from the deviant graves in four of the five samples: bone ornaments, polished stone tools and unworked bone and antler. Chipped stone tools, fired clay ornaments and unworked shells are most often included.

Such forms of categorical inclusions and exclusions clearly work at several different nested spatial levels. At the local, intercommunity level, contrastive material emphases were used to differentiate each village's own forms of enchaind relationships and age/gender-based material identities (Chapman 1996): similar or identical material forms were used to objectify different age/gender categories in each of three different village cemeteries. But, on a broader spatial scale, distinctive object categories from the Neolithic and Copper Age settlement of Orlovo, South East Bulgaria, shared close analogies with artefacts used by village communities as far apart as South East Bulgaria, Moldavia (North East Romania) and Western Hungary, especially in the 5th millennium BC (Chapman, Gaydarska, Raduntcheva, Kostov and Petrov in preparation).

Deviant burials at Zengővárkony – a site-based contextual study

The general patterns of inclusion and exclusion of grave good categories have highlighted the differences in meanings of the same objects in different communities. The site of Zengővárkony can provide a snapshot of the deeper significance of these burials in relation to local cultural practices. Zengővárkony is a large Lengyel complex with clusters of burials ($n=368$) dispersed across the settlement between zones of settlement discard (Dombay 1939, 1960, Zoffmann 1972–3). The large number of graves at Zengővárkony enables a comparison of the number of object categories in different grave types. The preservation of the graves is clearly a key factor here, for the majority of destroyed, badly preserved and the cenotaph grave types have only one or two grave good categories. In contrast, the three types of better-preserved graves (well preserved graves, graves with missing skulls, and graves with replaced skulls) show a clear division into 'richer' and 'poorer' grave assemblages. At least at Zengővárkony, the quantities of grave good categories show a close relationship between deviant and normal graves.

The spatial aspect of the Zengővárkony burials presents one of the most intriguing elements of the mortuary domain (Fig. 4.10). A total of 41 deviant burials (or 11%) comprises 29 *fragmentary*, nine *substitutions*, two *combination* and one *addition* burials. These were concentrated in two out of the 14 trenches (VI and IX, Zoffmann 1972–3: Plan

3), which account for 75% of all deviant burials.

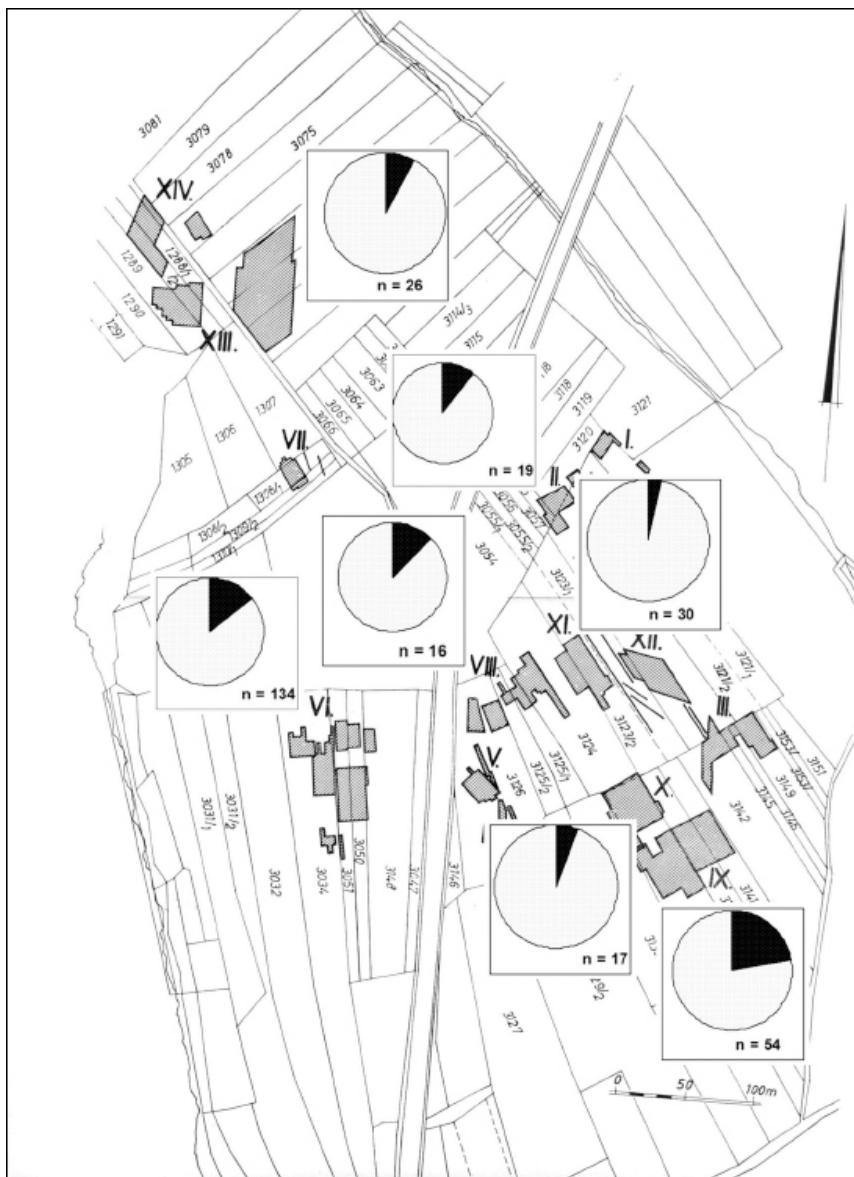
The distribution of groups of burials, both large and small, near to settlement remains suggests that an important aspect of the selection of burial location related to kinship proximity – the newly dead being buried near his or her dwelling place. With this model, the size of the burial cluster related to the number of dwellings near that cluster and the length of time over which burials were made. However, one important factor in the form of the burial – whether normal or deviant – would have related to the history of each cluster: *i.e.* the burials that had already taken place up to time 'x' would have influenced the form of the next burial (at time 'x + 1'), with the burial made at 'x + 1' setting the stage for the form of the burial at time 'x + 2', and so on (Chapman 2000b). I suggest that this would have made it more likely to place a deviant burial in an area with previous deviant burials, provided that this did not contradict kinship principles of burial location.

At the more specific level of the individual burial cluster, it is interesting to note the differences in clustering of deviant burials in their two main foci – Trenches VI and IX. In Trench VI, whereas four 'isolated' deviant burials occur on the edge of their group of burials, the main cluster of 15 deviant burials occurs in the South East margins of the trench, where they almost outnumber normal burials. In each case, the group of burials and the isolated burials lie marginal to other, normal burials. A radically different spatial pattern is found in Trench IX, where there is no dominant cluster of deviant burials, rather isolated graves (a group of two and two groups of three graves) usually close to normal graves but showing no specific tendencies to liminality.

What do these differences mean? I start with the interpretation that deviant burials mark an emphasis on the enchainment relations existing during the life of the newly-dead, whether as an addition to the body or as a subtraction. The additional or missing parts of any deviant burial presence at least two other persons. First, in the case of burials with additional bones, these include the person whose bones have been curated for burial with another body *and* the living person who is curating those bones. Second, in the case of burials with missing parts, there is the presence of the living person curating the bones removed after death but before the 'first' burial *and* the 'ancestral' person whose status is changing with time and whose bones are being curated.

While normal burials attest to the emotional relationships between the living and the newly-dead, the materiality of enchainment human bones would have created a strong and enduring visual and tactile proof of the links to the deceased. The ancestral bones could have been used to presence the deceased in ceremonies and inter-group exchanges through the principle of *pars pro toto* – the part standing for the whole.

The Trench IX dispersion of deviant burials across the mortuary zone suggests that the kinship principles of burial location are dominant over the need for explicit referencing of enchainment ties, which do not always require materialisation. By contrast, in Trench VI, the liminality of both the deviant burial cluster and each isolated deviant grave suggests that the deviant burials played a more important role, standing for larger collectivities through the burials' emphasis on the relations between the living and the dead. One such general relationship concerns the continuity of the descent group beyond any human life-span or household.



The presencing of other persons is one of the key aspects of grave-goods. Those making offerings to the newly-dead would have chosen their objects with respect not only to the life of the deceased but also to the personal links of the objects to other members of the community. This was especially important in relation to another type of grave in which the

absence of the deceased is a defining characteristic – the so-called ‘cenotaph’ grave. Here, the combination of the absence of any human bones and the presence of a few strategically placed grave goods laid out *as if* there were a body in a normal grave is likely to imply that, if there were a body that was once intended for burial, its parts had been widely distributed elsewhere, leaving a suite of enchaind relationships which end with the empty tomb. It is therefore worth exploring the grave goods deposited in both normal and deviant graves in Trenches VI and IX.



Fig. 4.11: Vessel substituting for human crania: zoomorphic vessel in Grave 214, Zengővárkony

A qualitative comparison between the grave goods of normal and deviant graves in two samples (the South East corner of Trench VI, and the entire sample of burials in Trench IX) showed a different presence-absence structure for each trench. Whereas a large number of objects were found in both deviant and normal graves in both trenches, in Trench VI ground stone, shell beads and bone tools occurred only in the deviant graves. By contrast, in Trench IX, the exclusive object categories comprise sherds, fired female clay figurines, fired clay balls and copper rings in the normal graves, and Tisza imports and polishers in the deviant graves. This detailed comparison shows that the manner in which grave goods were used to differentiate deviant graves from normal graves was remarkably different in the two trenches. These patterns indicate a highly localised selection of messages from an identical suite of material culture, implying that members of different corporate groups may well have defined themselves and their dead in different ways.

A close look at the graves at Zengővárkony which included an element of *substitution* ($n = 9$) reveals considerable variety in the choice of the bone substituted and the object used in the substitution. Missing skulls were replaced by hand bones in five graves, and by a pig mandible, a pig mandible and a tooth, a pig mandible and hand bones, and a zoomorphic vessel in one grave each. The substitution of hand-bones was found in both Trenches VI and IX, although it remains possible that the hand bones were not removed but only not preserved – indicating addition rather than substitution. Domestic pig mandibles were the

second most common substitute for the human skull. In one case, the pig mandible was accompanied by a domestic pig tooth. This may be an allusion not only to boar's tusk ornaments (more frequently deposited in deviant than normal graves in Trenches VI and IX), but also to the three other graves with animal teeth included as grave goods. Pig mandible substitution occurred in Trench IX only. Pig mandibles were also found in other forms of deviant burials. In Grave 115 a pig mandible was placed next to the hand bones of a child and in Grave 118 a pig mandible was placed in front of the skull of a child. The final type of substitution, found in Trench VI, was a zoomorphic pot (a quadruped: Dombay 1960, fig. CX/1a–b: here Fig. 4.11). The red painted decoration on this vessel shows connections to many other vessels in both normal and deviant graves. There were two further graves with fired clay anthropomorphic figurines (Graves 97 and 142), these are common in Lengyel settlements contexts (e.g. Bánffy 1997: fig. 5 and fig. 18/2, Kalicz 1998: figs. 61/1–5).

The symbolism of these substitutions for the skull emphasises close, enchainment relations involving communal work with other humans (the hand-bones) and food production and forest exploitation with the domestic pig (the pig mandibles and tooth), perhaps identifiable as the emblem of the lineage. The contrast between the illegitimacy of combining partial human skulls with wild boar mandibles in the mortuary domain, not to mention any kind of cattle, sheep or goat bones, with the legitimacy of using the mandibles of domestic pig should shed some light on human relations with animals on a conceptual and symbolic level. The metaphorical importance of domestic suids relates, on the one hand, to their high birth rate and their provision of a wide range of meat products that can be dried for winter consumption – including varieties of ham, sausage, bacon, salami and dried bacon fat). But the hybridity of a pig-human image in death transcends dietary considerations.

There is a rich and varied narrative that can be told using the deviant burials at Zengővárkony. The deviant burials were clustered in two trenches, each with a very different distribution. In Trench VI the deviant burials were clustered in one corner, with most graves placed liminal to the main burial groupings. In Trench IX they were evenly dispersed across the whole area with no obvious liminal functions. These intrasite differences continue in the manner in which enchainment relations are materialised in grave goods, with very few object categories used to characterise the difference between deviant and normal graves in the same way in both trenches. A final difference between the trenches was the forms of substitution for the human skull. They share the use of hand-bones, but pig mandibles were restricted to Trench IX, and the only example of a zoomorphic vessel was found in Trench VI. The pig mandible replacement of human skulls/skull parts raises the issue of hybrid pig-humans, who transgressed categorical boundaries and enabled thought about the differences and similarities between humans and other animals.

Discussion

The widespread practice of object fragment enchainment in the Balkan Neolithic and Chalcolithic has dominated the fragmentation literature in the last decade (Chapman 2000a, Chapman and Gaydarska 2007), in part owing to the enormous quantity of objects created, used and broken in these periods. It should also not be forgotten that the Balkan Neolithic and Chalcolithic are periods in which deposition in settlements outnumbers by far mortuary deposits, with the exception of major Late Chalcolithic cemeteries such as Varna (Slavchev 2008) and Durankulak (Todorova 2002). The position is partially reversed in the 4th to 3rd millennia BC with the emergence of distinctive and often monumental mortuary domains

and the tendency towards settlement dispersion with minimum discard. Yet a third factor is the paucity of detailed physical anthropological reports, in which readers can be confident about the stability or mobility of the human bones.

The net result is that, although there has been a conceptual framework available for the study of deliberate human bone fragmentation for a decade (Chapman 2000a: 6–8), the topic has been under-researched (but see Bolomey 1984, Roksandić 2000). This chapter is an attempt to fill this empirical and conceptual gap by an examination of normal and deviant burials over 4,000 years, from the 6th to the 3rd millennium BC. One of the key questions arising from this research is how object enchainment differs from body part enchainment.

One starting-point for this question is the apparent inverse relationship between partial burials and fragments of things. In the largest sample in this study – the Zengővárkony burials – there is a single deviant burial with fragments of vessels, in contrast to the eight normal burials with sherds. The final publication of the Varna cemetery will enable a comparison of the completeness of the burials with the high rate of deposition of fragments of *Spondylus* shell bracelets – found in 75% of the graves (Chapman, Gaydarska and Slavchev 2008). Until further complex analyses are undertaken of large mortuary assemblages, the preliminary finding is that object enchainment and body part enchainment look like two alternative ways of distributing personhood.

While the two forms of fragment enchainment would seem to have similar spatial potential for linking distributed persons, the movement of body parts would probably have been constrained by the distance to the dwelling-places of relatives – perhaps close kin? – to a greater extent than the movement of, for example, decorated sherds, which have been shown to move over hundreds of kilometres (Chapman 2000a: 64–65), or the intermediate category of anthropomorphic figurine parts, moving off-site but not as far as sherds (Gaydarska, Chapman, Raduntcheva and Koleva 2007). Moreover, the two forms of enchainment were probably choreographed according to different temporalities. The opportunities for object enchainment started at a far earlier stage of the life-course (the *chaîne opératoire*), as with conjoint lithics deposited at different Mesolithic and Neolithic sites around Lake Gyrinos, Norway (Schaller-Åhrberg 1990) or conjoint sherds placed in different pits in Early Neolithic Kilverstone, Norfolk (Garrow, Beadsmoore and Knight 2005). Body part enchainment is predicated upon reaching the final stage of the human lifecourse. After death and de-fleshing, however, the pure white bones move into another, ancestral temporality, in which essentially new relationships were formed between the living and the newly-created ancestor. Only objects-as-heirlooms, with their personal biographies, could then assume the same time-depth as ancestral body parts.

Only a 21st-century Western view of personhood could accept without qualification the notion that body part enchainment was a more personal, overt statement of dividual identity than object fragment enchainment. The objectification of persons through objects has become such a well-established principle of personhood (Chapman and Gaydarska 2007, Fowler 2004) that the personal, human dimension of things is recognised as a classic means of presencing the person who made or used the thing wherever the object is found. Nonetheless, the perforated fragment of human skull found in the Čoka I hoard, North Serbia possessed – perhaps at the time of the deposition of the hoard – a personal identity as part of a once-living human being probably known to those who accumulated the constituent parts of an important ornament hoard (Banner 1960, Raczky 1994: fig. 1). Human bones are now things which were parts of persons; sherds were parts of things now believed to stand for persons. At a more general level, however, scapulae and sherds did share the same materiality, with both contributing to the formation of social realities

through the presencing of related persons.

If the enchainment of body parts and objects existed in tension, the same is equally true of the relations between the person and the corporate group in these communities. We can add a third term to LiPuma's (1998) discussion of the tension between individuals and dividuals – the corporate group to whom each type of person was related. It should not surprise us that such tensions were expressed in the mortuary domain in general and in partial burials, substitutions, additions and combinations in particular. One general contrast is seen between intra- and extra-mural burial. While intra-mural burial emphasises both the social and spatial proximity of the individual deceased to the household within the greater village community, cemeteries build distinctive corporate identities by a spatial distancing from settlements that, paradoxically, includes a wider network of dispersed communities (Chapman 1983, 1994, Saxe 1970). Yet the high frequency of fragmentary grave goods in cemeteries (e.g. the Copper Age cemetery of Tiszapolgár-Basatanya, in Eastern Hungary: Chapman and Gaydarska 2007) reminds us that enchainment of dividuality is important in places expressing corporate identity, just as their prominence in intra-mural burials (e.g. Zengővárkony) signifies dividual relationships with other communities outside the settlement. This principle may also help to explain the difference in frequencies of deviant burials in the barrow burials of Bulgaria and Hungary. In a landscape of dispersed homesteads with poorly understood patterns of mobility, the mortuary barrow stands out as a growing, living but permanent monumental form representing generations of those wider communities whose members constructed it, as much as a visual imitation of the equally monumental tell settlements (Chapman 1997) constituting antecedent landscape features from the ancestral past (Zvelebil and Beneš 1997). The selection of a small fraction of the total population for burial in the barrow led to the conversion of those individuals into representatives, *pars pro toto*, of their native homesteads or extended families. The emphasis on more or fewer deviant burials illustrated the extent to which the opposing principle of dividuality was maintained in the face of the claim of corporate identity. The concentration of almost half of the deviant burials at the Goran-Slatina cemetery into one single barrow (Barrow No. 3) shows how this spatial pattern can reinforce the identity of the corporate group already defined through the categorisation of deviant vs. normal graves. Another facet of the relations between (in)dividuals and corporate groups is found at Zengővárkony in the differences in the spatial patterning of deviant burials within the site. The locations of deviant graves in Trench VI suggest the importance of defining normal graves in relation to the liminal deviant forms found as isolates and as a marginal cluster, with the clustering of deviant graves as a strong signal of the significance of dividual relations within the community and beyond. The contrasting pattern of deviant graves in Trench IX makes no such statement about corporate identity in terms of normality vs. deviancy, rather exemplifying the cumulative significance of dividual ties linking the mortuary zone to the domain of the living.

A third aspect of social tension arises out of gender relations in Balkan Prehistory. This study points to a possible shifting preference from the Early Neolithic to the Chalcolithic of adult females to adult males in the choice of appropriate persons for deviant burial. This is part of a much more widespread shift in the spatial inclusion and exclusion of gender, that can be seen, *inter alia*, in the exclusion of female burials from the central core graves at Varna (Chapman 2000a) and the Late Neolithic tell at Csőszhalom, Eastern Hungary (Anders and Nagy 2007). This trend is exemplified in one of the deviant graves in the male-dominated cemetery core at Varna – the famous grave no. 43, with some of the richest grave goods in the entire cemetery. Here, an extra femur was placed alongside the corpse of an

adult male of 40–50 years (Ivanov 1988: Abb. 25). Such messages are not about a direct reflection of social power but are rather concerned with the ideological message of male centrality and the importance of dividual links to adult males – messages that (presumably adult) males are transmitting with increasing success. The resistance to this male strategy from adult females in other Late Copper Age cemeteries can be seen in the exclusion of ‘male-oriented’ prestige grave goods (classically gold and copper tools and weapons) from female graves and their replacement by ‘their’ tools and ornaments (Chapman 1996).

A fourth area of tension concerns the relationships between people and animals, arising from the notion of hybrid images in the mortuary zone, specifically at Zengővárkony. A wider perspective on hybrid pig-humans can be offered from the standpoint of those many figurines in the Balkan Neolithic and Copper Age whose identity is either ambiguous or ambivalent or hybrid. Such characteristics of figurine images have often been overlooked (Bailey 2005) or misinterpreted (*e.g.* Gimbutas’ notion of the “Bird Goddess”, Gimbutas 1974). The interwoven and overlapping identities of anthropomorphic, zoomorphic and ornithomorphic images, with their combinations of features, pose questions about the boundaries of the body and its permeability, as well as the origins of humanity and the relations between people and the outside world. Nanoglou (2008) has argued that different figurine forms sustain and empower different worlds and experiences, distinguishing between the anthropocentric discourse framing Early Neolithic lifeways in Thessaly from the ways in which both humans and animals form reference points for people’s lives in the Early Neolithic of the Central Balkans. This development goes further than the incorporation of new members (*i.e.* domestic animals) into the human community; it also goes further than Mullan and Marvin’s (1978: 3) observation that “in an important sense, animals are human constructions”. Instead, figurine makers in the Balkan Neolithic and Chalcolithic created radically different ontological categories that have no basis in zoological facts – in ‘real life’ – but were clearly grounded in their own cultural experience of categorisation processes and their relationship to social power relations.



Fig. 4.12: Burial of a three-legged adult male, Varna grave 43 (Ivanov 1988: Abb. 25)

The idea of transgression between categories, evocatively discussed by Aldhouse-Green (2001: 2004), lies at the heart of the concept of ‘deviant’ burials used in this chapter,

whether for the three-legged man of Varna (Grave 43, Fig. 4.12), the part child/part adult burials from Vinitsa (Grave 3, Fig. 4.13) and Goran-Slatina (Barrow 3/Grave 3), the half old male/half younger female from Zengővárkony or the headless and legless bodies found at so many sites. All of these examples depict, at the time of burial, a deliberate and symbolically rich deviation from normal, complete individuality. Moreover, all of these examples are underpinned by the principle of dividuality, by which the missing parts of each part-body are enchained to their burial from somewhere else. This is part of a much bigger picture, another element of which is the inclusion of human body parts in hoards (Chapman 2000a). These additions, subtractions and re-combinations remind one irresistibly of the heavily fragmented world of Balkan figurines, in which hybridity, ambiguity and ambivalence provide ways into the workings of the categorising mind. The androgynous body from Zengővárkony presences the hermaphrodite figurines of the First Temperate Neolithic and the Hamangia group, which attest to a specific form of personhood amongst the earliest farmers of their respective regions (Chapman and Gaydarska 2007). The mixture of child and adult is not easy to document on figurines, being replete with issues of definition, but there is an evocative relationship between children and adults in any evolving corporate group. The liminal place of the three-legged man of Varna – between two-legged humans and four-legged animals – betokens an ambiguous relationship between animals and humans just as much as the pig-humans from Zengővárkony. Though rare, these cyborgs help us to peer into the minds of prehistoric humans whose systems of categorisation go beyond the normal to define what it means to be human.



Fig. 4.13: part child – part adult burial, Vinitsa grave 3 (source: Raduntcheva 1976: Obr. 58/2)

Conclusions

The interrogation of the diverse yet patchy data from the mortuary domain of the Balkan Neolithic, Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age (6000 to 2000 BC) reveals the long-term predominance of what I am calling ‘normal’ burials, *i.e.* single complete individual burials. While collective burials were far less common, with specific distributions in particular

periods and areas, especially the Early Neolithic in the Central Balkans, deviant burials can be seen as a long-term mortuary practice from the Balkan Early Neolithic to the Early Bronze Age, reaching over 20% in Bulgarian flat Neolithic and EBA barrow cemeteries but otherwise rarely crossing the 10% threshold. The most common form of the five defined types of deviant burial identified in later Balkan Prehistory was the fragmentation burial – where the body was fragmented prior to burial and only part of the body placed in an identifiable mortuary context. Needless to say, such an interpretation should be made only if factors of differential bone preservation can be eliminated from the picture. The other forms of deviant burial, involving additional body parts, the removal of minor body parts from an otherwise complete skeleton, the re-combination of more than one body as a hybrid burial and the substitution of objects or other bones for human bones, are all relatively rare.

While all types of deviant burial – but especially fragmentation and removal – can be interpreted largely in terms of the enchainment of human body parts from the world of the dead to the world of the living, or indeed another part of the world of the dead, three types – addition, re-combination and substitution – have a further significance in terms of the creation of a series of strikingly hybrid images at the time of burial, including pig-humans, half-children, halfadults and men-women. Following Miranda Aldhouse-Green (Aldhouse-Green 2001), these images have been interpreted as transgressive of the social order, giving power to those able to manipulate the images, which also created a space to think about the similarities between men and women, children and adults, and humans and animals.

The relationship between enchainment by body parts and enchainment by objects or object fragments is dynamic and complex, with the contextual evidence from this study producing the surprising preliminary conclusion that these were two parallel practices, operating largely independently of one another. This was strikingly so in the case of depositional events such as burial, where very few graves with evidence for body part enchainment contained fragmentary objects denoting the other form of enchained relationships. However, interactions and exchanges in the world of the living may well have linked these two practices much more closely than is seen in the mortuary domain.

In this chapter, my aim has been to review the scattered evidence for deviant burials and relate it to the wider project of the investigation of deliberate fragmentation of objects and humans. My general conclusion is that deliberate body fragmentation is part of the long-term suite of mortuary practices found over four millennia in the Balkans. The most challenging research question for the fragmenterist – “where are the missing parts?” – remains relevant for the field of physical remains. It is my hope that this paper will provoke physical anthropologists to characterise human body part fragmentation in more detail in future skeletal reports (*e.g.* Duday 2006), so that we can understand the extent and general significance of this practice in European Prehistory.

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Notes

- 1 Such enchainned relations can be documented at the intra-site level, although Dalla Riva (2003) has observed that quotidian relations between co-residents may not have required material elaboration.
- 2 But note the claims for a Yamna culture “pit-dwelling” at Endrőd site 3/6, in the Central Alföld (Makkay 2007).

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5. Ageing as fragmentation and dis-integration

Joanna Appleby

The idea of fragmentation of the human body and the subsequent construction of relationships of enchainment has been used to explain the appearance of partial human skeletons, as well as fragmentary material culture, in archaeological contexts (Chapman 2000a, Chapman and Gaydarska 2007). Yet the idea that fragmentation can be an equally valid concept in trying to understand the lived bodies of prehistoric societies, and that it may be used as a lens through which to understand particular prehistoric constructions of the person, has not previously been suggested.

The relationship of ageing and bodily fragmentation, and its implications for prehistoric understandings of the person, has emerged from research into the role of ageing and old age in the Early Bronze Age communities of the Lower Traisen valley (Traisental) in Lower Austria (Wilson 2008). As such, some of the social processes relating to bodily fragmentation that will be discussed in this paper are specific to these communities; however, some of them are also of wider relevance in understanding the complex dynamic between the bodies of living individuals and the skeletonised human bodies that we deal with as archaeologists. This paper will therefore be divided into two sections. The first will discuss the ways in which fragmentation and enchainment can be used to understand the social meanings of ageing bodies. This section will set out some general thoughts on how the idea of fragmentation may be of use in understanding how ageing may have been understood in prehistoric societies. The second section will discuss how the fragmentation of the body and the enchainment of social relations that it signified were interpreted and dealt with by Early Bronze Age communities in the Traisental. Thus, bodily fragmentation will be dealt with as a universal process, whilst the social formations that it gives rise to are culturally, and perhaps even community, specific.

Fragmentation in archaeology

Although the ideas underlying fragmentation as a process have been well explained elsewhere (see references in Chapman 2000a, 2000b, Chapman and Gaydarska 2007, and this volume) it is worth quickly stating some of its main concepts here, in order to give a more direct impression of how fragmentation as an idea can contribute to the study of ageing. The fundamental contribution of the fragmentation agenda to archaeological theory has been its recognition that as archaeologists, we do not deal simply with objects that have been discarded due to accidental breakage. Although things do of course break, the quantity

of broken objects that we find is often too great to be explained by accidental breakage alone (Chapman 2000a, Chapman and Gaydarska 2007). In addition, the fragmentation agenda recognises that the retrieval of incomplete objects does not have to indicate the loss of the missing pieces. Instead, the breakage of objects may be deliberate and the broken pieces may be distributed between persons as a materialisation of the social relationships existing between them, theorised in the idea of enchainment (Chapman 2000a, Chapman and Gaydarska 2007).

The deliberate fragmentation of objects as a means of signalling connections between persons is not a social process that is restricted to prehistoric contexts. The medieval practice of dividing legal documents amongst signatories is an example of this process, as is the modern production of re-fitting jewellery designed to be worn by two people. Although the parts are separate, they are always symbolic of the original whole, thus relating back to the people behind the separation in a process of enchainment. What the fragmentation agenda therefore does, in effect, is to allow us to trace the creation and extension of personhood beyond the body. The fragmented object both serves as a physical reminder of the existence of a person (and linkages between persons) and allows the negotiation of a new meaning of the person (as involved in a social network).

Ageing, bodily fragmentation and the enchainment of personhood

The idea of fragmentation, at first glance, may seem difficult to apply to living bodies: by definition the lived body is whole, complete. Fragment the living body, and it no longer lives. It thus seems that the body is impervious to the process of division and separation that lies at the heart of the fragmentation process. Yet when we look to actual biological, bodily processes, things are more complex than this. In fact, in common with the Hamangia figurines of the Neolithic Balkans (Chapman and Gaydarska 2007), it is arguable that human bodies are designed to fragment. Over the course of our lifetimes, every cell in our body is replaced many times over. Hair and fingernails grow and we cut them off; one complete set of teeth is discarded during childhood, and the second set often follows later in the life span. The idea of the whole and bounded human body as a stable entity over the life cycle is thus a fiction: one that as a society we spend considerable amounts of time and energy in trying to maintain, but a fiction nonetheless. As bodies age, the processes of fragmentation undergone by the body change from a state of relative equilibrium, whereby body parts are continually replaced, to one of dis-integration and de-generation (cf. Crews 2003). Over time, these changes become steadily more noticeable and more difficult to deny. The hair thins and leaves bald patches, teeth are lost, bone density diminishes and the bones may literally fragment due to osteoporosis. In addition, height and muscle tone are lost. The body progressively becomes less of a body than it used to be.

This process of age-related bodily fragmentation is, of course, quite different to what we think of as fragmentation in the classic sense as expounded by Chapman (Chapman 2000a, Chapman and Gaydarska 2007). In Chapman's case studies, objects are deliberately smashed in particular events and distributed among people as a way of cementing social bonds. In the case of ageing, most fragmentation does not occur due to specific events but is the result of ongoing biological processes. Where fragmentation is event-based, it is not usually intentional: the vertebral or hip fracture as a result of a fall is not eagerly awaited, it is rather actively dreaded. In addition, age-related fragmentation is not a process of separation and division: we do not remove parts of our bodies as we age, nor do we distribute them liberally around the landscape. Yet despite this apparent difference in the

process of physical fragmentation, the fragmentation of the ageing body and the fragmentation of objects can be understood in a similar way through the logic of enchainment.

The idea of enchainment through fragmentation is founded upon the notion that the social person is more than the physical person, more than 'just' a body. Persons may have permeable or moveable boundaries with things, and things may extend persons beyond the spaces that are physically inhabited by their bodies. Fragmenting an object creates a permanent enchained relationship between persons who may be geographically separated. I would suggest that changes to the body itself may create a self-referencing system in which the body itself represents more than just the person as that person exists in the present. Instead, I would suggest that the bodily fragmentation that is associated with ageing serves to create a permanent enchained relationship between persons who are separated by time.

Roy Wagner has noted in his study of Melanesian personhood that people are 'enchained' through their genealogy, thus: "People exist reproductively by being 'carried' as part of another, and 'carry' or engender others by making themselves genealogical or reproductive factors of those others." (Wagner 1991: 163). Even in a modern context, the elderly are our only physical link to past family and past events. In a pre-literate context, even more, the oldest members of the community would have provided the only available connection to individuals long-since dead (the ancestors) and would have acted as the link by which now disparate individuals could trace their common roots. Exogamous marriage practices may have lead to a situation in which the offspring of brothers and sisters were born to different communities, eventually leading to a situation where the only physical familial link was a grandparent or elderly parent.

Of course, the knowledge of such links is not reliant upon the body reaching a certain stage. Such factors would have a discursive reality which was not focussed on the body. Yet the importance of the ageing person does not lie merely in their ability to answer questions about the relationship between past and present, but in their physical embodiment of it, and it is in this embodiment that the process of enchainment lies. The aged prehistoric body does not just represent a person of a given age, rather it represents processes that have occurred to individuals, and the age-related fragmentation of those individual bodies and their physical embodiment of time-scales cannot be ignored during processes of social interaction. The consciousness of the degeneration of the bodies of ageing persons would have been present in all social interaction, both to the ageing person and to those with whom they interacted. As a result of this constant awareness of bodily degeneration there would also have been a consciousness of the temporal nature of bodily change. Within small-scale communities such as existed in many prehistoric societies, each aged body would represent a well-known person, and would be representative not merely of the individual person, but of an inter-linked entity within a geographical and temporal network.

The idea of the fragmenting, ageing body as an enchained link within temporal and chronological relationships can therefore help us to get away from the view of the elderly in prehistoric or less complex societies as valued merely as repositories of knowledge. In that case, the oldest members of society are essentially pictured as a resource, whose physical decrepitude is tolerated in return for the knowledge they provide. In contrast, if the ageing body is examined in terms of fragmentation and enchainment, the elderly become a permanent signifier of particular temporal and genealogical relationships simply by their existence in the community, in the same way that a figurine fragment enchains persons by its mere existence. The degeneration of the body thus becomes a central focus of the place of the elderly within the community, and as such, the fragmentation of the body through

ageing serves both to create and renew linkages.



Fig. 5.1: Location of the Traisen Valley

So far in this paper, I have discussed the way in which the fragmentation of the ageing body literally embodies the temporal relationships within a community; however, this does not automatically lead to a particular social status for the elderly. Links with ancestors can be despised as well as encouraged, and the focus on the degeneration and fragmentation of the body through time may equally be feared as valued. In fact, this may well underlie current attitudes to the elderly in Western Europe.

The number of older people in most, if not all, prehistoric communities would have been relatively low. The impact of childhood disease, high rates of death in childbirth, the lack of modern medicine and hygiene and the need to engage in risky activities (*e.g.* warfare or stock-rearing) would have meant that a significant proportion of the population in any prehistoric society would not have survived to old age. For the purposes of archaeological interpretation, this low survivorship is exacerbated by the problem of skeletal ageing techniques. The ageing of adult human skeletal material involves assigning a chronological age on the basis of one or more degenerative biological processes. Whilst these processes are correlated with age, they do not have a straightforward, linear relationship with it (Crews 2003, Molleson and Cox 1993). Instead they are highly susceptible to both environmental and genetic effects. The result of this is that the older the body, the more difficult it is to assign an accurate age to an individual. In practice, this process is not random and the oldest portion of the population is typically under-aged when age is calculated from the skeleton (Molleson and Cox 1993).

In combination, these two factors (low survivorship and skeletal under-ageing) cause significant problems in identifying sufficient numbers of elderly individuals in the archaeological record to allow for interpretation (this may be the reason for the utter lack of theorisation of growing old in archaeological discourse). Whilst they can never be completely overcome, by restricting analysis to large and well-documented cemeteries it does at least become possible to attempt some degree of interpretation. It is for this reason that the contextual section of this paper focuses upon the Early Bronze Age cemeteries of

the Lower Traisen Valley (Traisental) in Lower Austria. Although the overall numbers of skeletons of elderly people remain low, the size of the cemeteries (containing up to 1400 inhumations; Urban 2000: 158) mean that it is possible to trace certain patterns in the relationship between fragmenting bodies, enchainned relationships and social understandings of personhood.

Fragmentation of the ageing body in the Early Bronze Age of Lower Austria

The Traisen valley runs through Lower Austria from the Alpine Foreland in the south to the Danube river in the north (Fig. 5.1). It provides an ideal location for human habitation: the fertile valley bottom offers land for growing crops and keeping livestock, whilst the low limestone hills on either side are forested, providing raw materials for building and agriculture (Neugebauer 1993, 1994). The location of the Traisen valley close to and running into the Danube would have allowed its prehistoric inhabitants to tap into a major route for the movement both of goods and people. It is perhaps the juxtaposition of all of these factors which allowed a significant population density to develop within the Lower Traisen valley during the Early Bronze Age. During this period, a large number of settlements were built in the valley bottom, usually with associated cemeteries situated on the first river terrace.

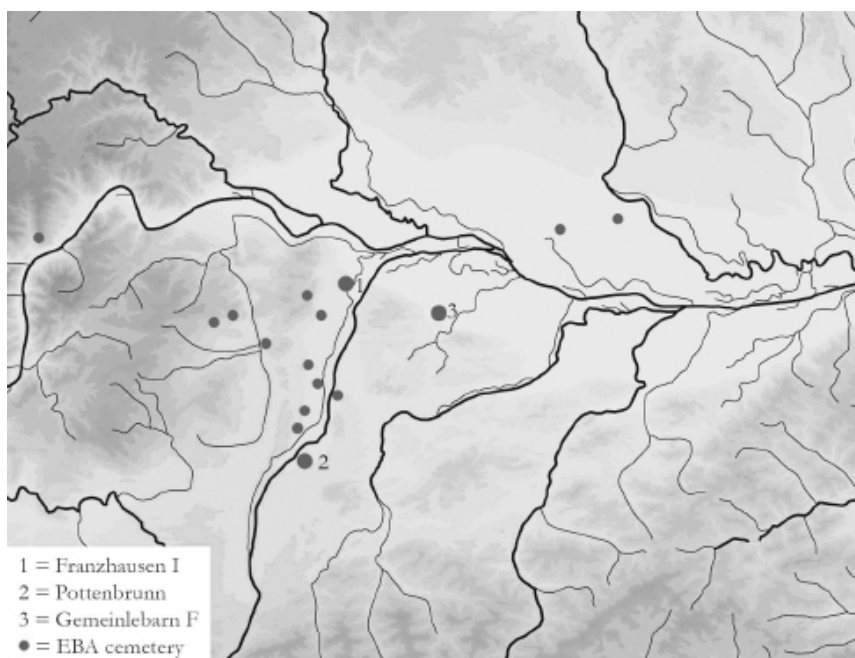


Fig. 5.2: Location of Early Bronze Age cemeteries within the Traisen valley and surrounding region

The Early Bronze Age inhabitants of the Traisental lived in small agglomerations of houses, with living communities at any one time made up of between 30 and 80 people (Berner 1988, 1992, 1997, Heinrich and Teschler-Nicola 1991, Wilson 2008). The dead of

these small-scale societies were placed within large, flat cemeteries in individual inhumation graves (double and multiple graves are known, but are very rare). Individuals are buried with a variety of objects, the majority of which are worn on the body, but some of which (tools, weapons, ceramic vessels and food offerings) accompany the body (Neugebauer 1993, 1994). Although there is some evidence of social difference in the graves, the degree of institutionalised social hierarchy at this time was relatively low and there is no evidence of settlement hierarchy in the region until later in the Bronze Age.

Although more than ten Early Bronze Age cemeteries are now known from the Traisen Valley, this discussion incorporates only three. This is partially due to the need to obtain a sufficient sample size of older individuals: it is difficult to make any meaningful interpretation of a cemetery where only one individual is over 40. This means that several cemeteries (*e.g.* Oberndorf in der Ebene, Oberwöbling) have had to be excluded on the basis of their small size. A more pressing problem is the need for scientifically excavated and properly published cemeteries. A significant portion of the known cemeteries from the Traisental were excavated before or between the two World Wars, a time when thorough excavation techniques were not universally applied (*e.g.* the cemeteries of Gemeinlebarn A and Unterwöbling).¹ Several more have been excavated very recently and have not yet been published, nor has the material been fully analysed (*e.g.* Franzhausen II).

The cemeteries which form the subject of this discussion are all situated within a few miles of each other beside the river Traisen (Fig. 5.2) and date to the period between 2200 and 1600 BC. Between them, they include over 1000 burials: Franzhausen I contained over 700 Early Bronze Age graves, Pottenbrunn contained 74 graves and Gemeinlebarn F contained 258 graves. The burial rite at all three cemeteries was highly standardised, involving the placement of the body in a crouched position, often in a coffin, within a small pit grave. This was sometimes marked with a small mound. The positioning of the body was determined by biological sex, with females being placed on their right sides with the head to the south and males being placed on their left sides with the head to the north. Sexual difference was also marked out through costume and the presence of tools and weapons in the grave. For instance, female costume incorporated many items that were not worn by males and weapons were restricted to males (Neugebauer 1994). Analysis has shown that age-based differences were marked less strongly, but nevertheless they do appear. Individuals take on or lose particular items of dress as they grow up and age, and certain types of material are also abandoned by the older age groups. Certain object types are limited to the older individuals, in particular weapons at Gemeinlebarn F, which are limited to older males only (Wilson 2008).

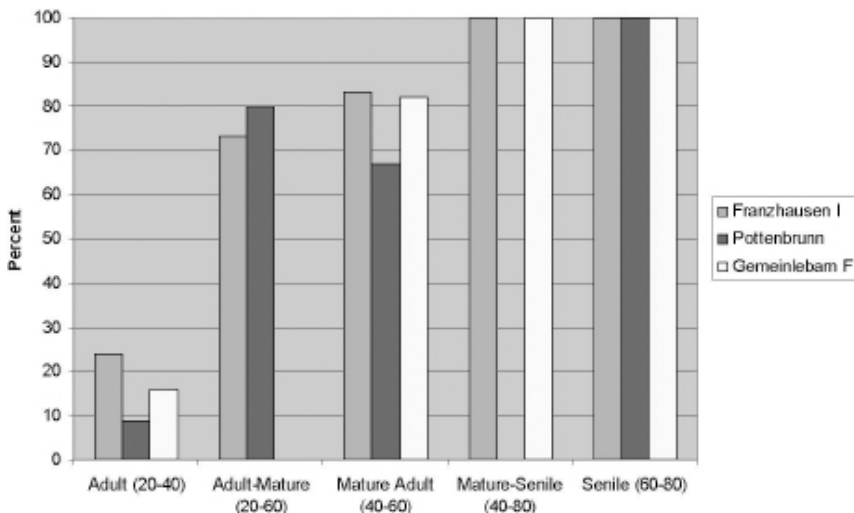


Fig. 5.3: Percentage of observable individuals with degenerative joint disease relative to age (data from Berner 1988, Gerold 1997, Teschler-Nicola 1992)

Processes of age-related degeneration in individuals from these three cemeteries can be assessed by examining various skeletal traits. Some traits are directly age-related. These include degenerative joint disease (arthritic processes caused by wear and tear to the skeleton) and tooth wear (grinding down of the tooth surfaces caused by a rough diet). Other traits are age-linked, but caused by processes which are not themselves a function of age. An example of such a trait is tooth loss – over time teeth are attacked by bacteria, which leads to caries formation and the eventual loss of teeth. As adult teeth are not replaced when lost, the oldest individuals are likely to have the greatest tooth-loss. Another is the incidence of fractures related to the loss of bone mass. As individuals age, the amount of bone making up the skeleton diminishes, meaning that bones can fracture in response to relatively minor stresses. Such fractures include compression fractures of the vertebrae, Colles' fractures of the wrist and hip fractures. Finally, there are skeletal pathologies caused by specific events. Whilst these are not themselves related to age, their effects may be magnified in older individuals because their bodies are less able to respond to stresses (cf. Crews 2003). Such events include fractures as a result of falls and infectious diseases. The factors illustrated here were all chosen on the basis of the effect that they would have had on the functional capacity of the body and/or its physical appearance. This means that they can reasonably be assumed to have had an impact upon the lives of the individuals concerned and to have been visible to those around them.

Within all three cemeteries, processes of bodily fragmentation disproportionately affect the oldest portion of the population. Degenerative joint disease is found in between 68% and 92% of individuals skeletally aged as 'mature adults' and in 100% of all individuals aged as 'senile' in all three cemeteries (Fig. 5.3). Ante-mortem tooth-loss is also at its greatest amongst the older members of the population. For example, at Franzhausen I, 5% of observable teeth had been lost before death in individuals aged forty to sixty, rising to 40% in those aged sixty to eighty (Fig. 5.4).

These generalised degenerative processes are accompanied by traumatic injuries related to the ageing process, which would have increased the visible degree of bodily

fragmentation both through the visual changes to the body itself and through associated changes in patterns of movement. In particular, there is evidence of spinal compression fractures, probably caused by a loss of bone mass in old age, in all three cemeteries. These affect five individuals from Franzhausen I, two from Pottenbrunn and five from Gemeinlebarn F. Although such fractures would not have caused immobilisation of their victims, they would have caused characteristic changes in posture. This may have consisted of squaring of the torso where a vertebra was completely crushed, or of the development of a forward-leaning stance in the case of wedge fractures. These in turn would have lead to changes in gait and thus to observable changes in an individual's repertoire of bodily gestures. In addition, we should not forget the non-skeletal and universal processes of age-related bodily fragmentation that would also have existed, including hair loss, loss of body height and the degeneration of skin-tone.

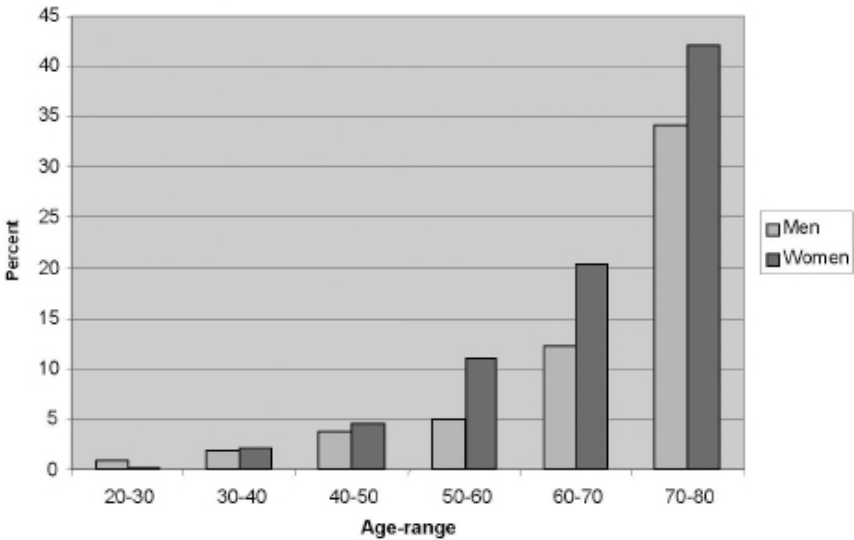


Fig. 5.4: Percentage of observable teeth lost ante-mortem at Franzhausen I (data from Wiltchke-Schrotta 1988)

Thus far, my discussion has been limited to the generalised ageing body, but it must be seen that the significance of age-related bodily fragmentation is how it affects individual bodies. As a process rather than an event, the concept of fragmentation requires the idea of time to be understood in a meaningful way. It is as mnemonics for past social events and meanings that fragmenting bodies have their significance. In turning to individual bodies, it is possible not just to see how particular fragmentation processes change with age, but to trace how different processes interact within the body over a period of time and how these inform the social construction of the person (cf. Robb 2002). In order to demonstrate this process of the fragmenting body as mnemonic for social and chronological change, I will now explore how ageing and fragmentation have affected a single individual from the cemetery of Gemeinlebarn F.

The individual from grave 7 (G7) at Gemeinlebarn F was a possible male, aged 40–50.³ Simply by belonging to this age group, this man was exceptional – no males from the

cemetery have been aged as older than this and only five other males reached this age in the whole period that the cemetery was in use. This man had probably undergone a series of age-related changes that would have affected his appearance before his death, and would have marked him out. Firstly, it is likely that his hair would have been grey or greying. Perhaps it was also thinning by this stage (a literal case of bodily fragmentation). In addition, exposure to the elements, and especially the relatively variable climatic conditions of this area (with winter temperatures well below freezing and hot summers), would have caused degeneration of the skin and left him with wellmarked wrinkles.

In addition to these, now invisible, processes affecting only the outer surfaces of the body, fragmentation had also had an impact on the skeleton of this man. Visual changes to his face could only have been exacerbated by the fact that he had lost 11 of the 30 teeth that could be assessed from his incomplete skeletal remains (one canine, two premolars and eight molars). Degenerative joint disease had also affected this individual relatively severely, being found on most surviving portions of the spine, on the shoulder joint, the knee, the jaw and the toes. Although the relationship between arthritis and pain is not straightforward (Resnick and Niwayama 1981), it is likely that an individual with this degree of joint involvement would have suffered at least some pain. Arthritic conditions of the joints can also lead to stiffness and loss of mobility, both of which would have implications for general posture and movement. G7 had also suffered two spinal fractures. One was probably related to a traumatic incident and was thus not directly age-related. The second was a compression fracture which is likely to have been caused by diminished bone mass related to his age.

The degenerative, fragmentary body of this man would thus have acted in a relationship of synecdoche to the events and people of his life-course. Certain aspects of his fragmentation could have been related to particular historical events and would have had defined 'before' and 'after' periods. This would have applied to the spinal fractures. Other aspects represented processes on a historically contingent time-scale. These would have included his arthritis and his greying or thinning hair. The body of this man would have acted as a constant metaphor for the temporal movement of the community. This would have referenced both ideas of change (the changes in the body standing for changes in the make-up of the community) and ideas of constancy through time (the fact that this individual had been a part of the community throughout his life, the length of which was constantly referenced by his fragmenting body).

How was the social identity of G7 tied to this state of bodily fragmentation? Perhaps unexpectedly, his infirmities do not lead to low-key funerary treatment. In fact, grave 7 is the most elaborate in the whole of Gemeinlebern F. Of relatively large size, its most significant characteristic is the richness of the artefacts deposited in and with the body. Weapons are distinctive of male burials at Gemeinlebern F, but G7 is one of only two individuals (both older males) to be buried with both a bronze dagger⁴ and axe. The axe in this grave is particularly significant as it is more elaborately decorated than others from this site and had a handle covered in bronze sheet, which would have given it the appearance of a solid bronze object when in use.

The fact that this man had received elaborate funerary treatment would usually be attributed to him having had a high status within the community; however, such interpretations often fail to theorise why it was that certain individuals may have achieved such a status. Where such theorisation does take place, it is usually assumed to be related to power-seeking by the individual or membership of a hereditary elite. In contrast, I would like to suggest that in this case it may have been specifically related to the enchained

temporal relationships signified by this man's body: not only was he one of the oldest members of the community, but he literally embodied many years of the community's existence. For this reason, his loss in death may have had a significance which is not usually associated with the death of the old today. Such a loss is marked in his overtly elaborate funerary treatment.

Interestingly, bodily infirmities that are not caused by age-related bodily fragmentation did not have any such impact on social status at Gemeinlebarn F. The individual from grave 209, with a probably congenital dysplasia of the hip (and who would thus have had difficulty in walking), was not afforded elaborate funerary treatment. This adult male was instead buried in a grave smaller than any other adult grave. In addition, he was one of very few individuals not buried in the 'correct' position for his gender. In this case, the changes to the body were not enchainment in community history, and both marginalised and threatened rather than enhanced his social status.

Before concluding, it is worth noting that the processes of bodily fragmentation that are seen amongst the Bronze Age community in the Traisen valley are not straightforwardly carried over into death. Bodies are treated as complete entities rather than being deconstructed into fragments and dispersed amongst people in enchainment relationships. This completeness is constructed not just by the burial of a complete body, but through the use of elaborate costume, which retains the same bodily emphasis as is seen in younger and unfragmented bodies; in the containment of the single body within a wooden coffin; and in the use of single graves, which emphasise the boundedness of the particular body. This suggests that the way in which the living body was constructed may have been significantly different to the dead body at the point of burial. John Chapman has argued convincingly that the creation of large, extra-mural cemeteries represents a process of accumulation, which articulates social concerns which are different to those of the process of fragmentation (Chapman 2000b, Chapman and Gaydarska 2007). Such accumulation processes appear to be at the heart of the Traisental cemeteries, which incorporate the singular dead body within an extensive community of the dead. I would like to suggest that this change from the fragmenting older body of a living person to the complete body of a dead person incorporated within a group of bodies reflects a hiatus in the construction of temporal enchainment. Whereas the living body is a continual *link* to the past, to the ancestral, at the point of death the body is re-integrated within that past, ancestral community and becomes part of it. It thus no longer acts referentially. Instead, the community must play out the final act to permanently establish the position of the dead person as part of the ancestral community by placing it within a cemetery. Through burial within a cemetery, this social relationship between old person and ancestors ceases to be enchainment, and instead becomes institutionalised.

Conclusion

Although the idea of age does appear in archaeological narratives, little attention has in the past been paid to the last stage of the life-span. Where old age is mentioned, it has usually involved appeals to the old as purveyors of wisdom. Whilst such interpretations are not necessarily incorrect as such, they ignore the bodily subjectivity of elderly people from prehistoric societies, despite the fact that in the later phase of life, the capacities and capabilities of the body have a significant effect upon the construction of the person. By taking the idea of fragmentation and enchainment as developed by Chapman and others, it becomes possible to move away from such 'floating' ideas of old age and allow the

embodied nature of ageing and the person to be properly considered. Critically, it also allows for an exploration of ageing as a variable process that affects different individuals individually. By incorporating it within an idea of enchainment, the idea of bodily fragmentation can be used to understand social reproduction in prehistory: the role of individual bodies in constructing particular historical conceptions of the passing of time. Whilst this paper has dwelt almost entirely on bodily fragmentation as a process relating to age, it could also usefully be employed to explore the social meanings of disease processes and bodily impairments. By noting the disjunction of meanings constructed around age-related and non-age-related bodily fragmentation, it becomes possible to build more satisfying models of disability. Such approaches could also allow for exploring the differences between social understandings of long-term or progressive impairments and those arising from specific events.

Notes

- 1 Some skeletal material was also lost or damaged during World War II.
- 2 By referring to individual bodies, I am referring to bodies in their singular state rather than making assumptions about the individual nature of personhood.
- 3 The fact that this male was skeletally aged as 40–50 does not necessarily mean that his chronological age would have matched this attribution. Older individuals are systematically under-aged by osteological ageing techniques, meaning that he may, in fact, have been considerably older when he died; however, the fact that he was physiologically older than other individuals in the cemetery would have been significant.
- 4 Additional, loose rivets may indicate that a second dagger was originally present, although these may represent intrusive material from other grave fills that had been disturbed.

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6. Bronze Age bodiness – maps and coordinates

Marie Louise Stig Sørensen

Introduction

In preparing this chapter in response to the theme of this volume, the central question about the relationship between the body as a whole and as a collection of constituent parts and whether and how this matters in the Bronze Age became both more obviously interesting, almost urgent and certainly pertinent, and at the same time also more subtle and complex, less straightforward, than it appeared when the question was first raised.¹ In particular, the paper is informed by a concern with whether we can reach insights into specific historical ways of comprehending these relationships or whether we will always slide into universal propositions about what the body is and how it is understood. The ghost sitting behind this worry is the heavy baggage within body literature of both explicit structuralist approaches and postmodern ones, with the body in the former being the mother of almost all things whereas in the latter it often tends to become about everything but the body. Acknowledging such pulls, how can we reach informed insight into how the Bronze Age body was perceived, and moreover, what would such a project be about?

The body has many roles, resonances, and meanings. It is a supreme signifier as well as a core means of social relations, a means of enactment and the site of embodied experiences. These qualities are not, however, the focus here. Rather, it is the body ‘as such’, as substance placed and appreciated in social and cultural terms, which I shall attempt to engage with. This is in line with, for example, Joanna Sofaer’s argument about the materiality of the body (Sofaer 2006), and it opens up for an approach that is body-centred and materially informed.

Attitudes to and understandings of the body may be abstract or concrete and they may take many forms, such as narratives, claims, or explanations. There are, however, also a number of qualities that are obvious. Structures such as the inside versus the outside, the cover of the body, its hair and skin, and the almost detachable limbs are predictable potential demarcations and divisions. A whole is always dividable, and the divided body is a common conception providing basic metaphors used for the understanding of society and self (Douglas 1973). In addition, the body is composed of different parts that do specific things and look different. The body can thus be divided, demarcations can be made, and bits can metaphorically be joined or separated as a means of articulating the essence of the body – as well as being used as a means of and a metaphor for other relationships.

Within these possibilities we may recognise features that correspond with the ways in which people in temperate Europe during the Early and Middle Bronze Age interacted with

the body, and within these it may be possible to locate clues about what mattered to them in terms of their bodies including its different forms through the life cycle. Reflecting on the characteristics of the Bronze Age treatment of the body it seems immediately obvious that we also need to stress that, while the body can be divided up and become separated into parts, it also has a potential for being simultaneously parts *and* whole. These differences may be ambiguous: the whole will always in some way be threatened by the possibility of fragmentation and yet it connects the parts. The cognition of the body involves navigating these and other possibilities and utilises specific cultural beliefs about the body, its parts and its boundaries, including how wholeness is maintained or alternatively how it is breached. Questions such as “What is the body?”, or “In which part of the body reigns the person; is it in the stomach, the heart, or the head?”, or “Which body parts matter most?” are all cultural reflections on the very substance and experience of bodies, including ‘being in bodies’ – the reflections they give rise to are commonly noted in historical sources and found in ethnographic accounts.

This paper aims to characterise how the body and its parts were commonly treated as both joined and differentiated during the late Early and Middle Bronze Age in central and northern Europe. Basically, how were the emphasis and/or separation of distinct parts of the body used as a central point for engagement with existence, whether that was the ‘being’ of living corporeal bodies or the existence of the body in death? It is the body itself that is the object of these concerns, rather than it being approached as a means through which other meanings are constructed. The latter is clearly also an important part of body discourses, but it is the quality of ‘bodiness’ that I am concerned with rather than the importance of the body for the construction of social relations. To consider this essential question, this paper posits that the evidence of how the body is articulated and the attention given to the orchestration of the relationships between its parts in life and death can be used to investigate the conceptualisation of the body during this period, and whether these were treated in a manner that suggests there were differences between bodies. I shall investigate these relationships by looking at two distinct areas of practice: the dressing of the living body and the treatment of the dead body.

The practice of clothing the body gives order to social appearance and may also be involved in limiting and defining the body in terms of signalling social roles and relationships. During the Bronze Age, presentation of the person through the clothed body became a distinct area of practice. I have previously argued that the body was dressed and attired in ways that utilised the body’s surface as a ‘social fabric’ to present and perform bodies as particular kinds of bodies (Sørensen 1997). This involved dressing the body in ways that employed and created ‘body maps’ or schemas through which different parts of the body were accentuated. The question is whether, on this basis, we can identify Bronze Age perceptions of the body – was theirs a body conceptualised as a composite construction, articulated and understandable by its parts, or were their concerns focussed on the body as a whole, representing a particular perception of bodiness, or something else? Complicating our task, however, it is around this time that cremation started to become more commonly used for burials, and during the period 1600 to 1200 BC it came to dominate in most areas of Europe, suggesting that some aspects of body ideology or perception were changed or at least challenged (for a detailed discussion see Sørensen and Rebay-Salisbury forthcoming). When investigating prehistoric perceptions of the body, the treatment of the deceased body can provide important complementary evidence to that associated with the living body. In this case cremation, which causes fragmentation of the body and the elimination of the soft parts, or in other words the disintegration of the body’s

wholeness, apparently suggests a contrasting attitude to that provided by evidence linked to the living body as the latter gives the impression of an emphasis on wholeness and connectedness (e.g. Sørensen 1997). At the same time, the attitudes to the body in cremation burials are also seemingly radically different from those shaping the previous tradition of inhumation burials. But is that really the case? In what follows I shall first outline the body schemas that emerge when we scrutinise the structures affecting the appearance of the social body during the late Early and the Middle Bronze Age, and identify their main characteristics. Secondly, I shall briefly consider whether the schema was relevant to all kinds of bodies, considering briefly both gender and age but focussing primarily on the difference between living and dead bodies. In short, looking at the various emphases, adornments, and performative dramatics that are expressed during this period, this paper speculates upon whether a distinct body ontology emerged during the Middle Bronze Age in central and northern Europe.

Middle Bronze Age living bodies – maps and schemas

In much of central and northern Europe a number of distinct developments of relevance to the clothed body can be seen from the end of the Early Bronze Age. Bronze became increasingly dominant in the production of ornaments, and a new range of types developed. In particular, elaborate cast bronze objects made to fit particular parts of the body, such as the upper arm or the ankle now appear (Laux 1981), and there was a general increase in the size of ornaments. It is also during this period that objects such as razors first appeared and became common items in male assemblages² (Treherne 1995). These objects were specific in design and purpose, and objects were not functionally interchangeable: the arm-ring could not be used as a neck-ring and vice versa. This contrasts with the earlier more informal array of smaller objects, beads, pendants, spirals and tubes that had been used either directly sewn onto garments or attached together in necklaces or other arrangements. The question is therefore whether these developments were merely expressions of changing fashions of decorating the body or whether they indicate shifts in the perceptions of the body. In particular, does the increased emphasis on particular parts of the body, and the purpose-made ornaments for these parts, mean that the period saw changes in the ontological status of the body?

Before attempting to discuss the structures of these schemas, the role they play in any attempt to understand Bronze Age body ideologies and ontologies should be explained. Of all the prehistoric communities from temperate Europe, the Bronze Age is the period from which we have the fewest depictions of human beings. Human depictions are found on rock carvings in Scandinavia (Coles 2005) and in Val Camonica, Italy (Anati 1961), on stelae in Iberia (Harrison 2003) and on some bronze razors from Scandinavia (Kaul 2004). Figurative representations are extremely rare on pottery, in contrast, for example, to the early Iron Age, and they are hardly ever found on any other media. There are a small number of figurines made in bronze, in particular from Scandinavia; but three-dimensional representations are on the whole extremely rare. There are therefore few representations of the human form, and those that exist are mainly from marginal regions in relationship to the influential Bronze Age regions of Central Europe. In addition, the depictions are usually simple sticklike figures that are present as actors in a scenario, such as sailing, hunting or ploughing or as participants in some kind of ceremony or ritual activity. Our understanding of the body ideology that characterises the Bronze Age is therefore directly dependent on our ability to ‘read’ what they did with and to their bodies rather than given through their

own externalised contemplations of their bodies.

This enforced focus on the actual body rather than Bronze Age self depictions and discourses about bodies and bodiness furthermore means that the dead body is our prime source, even if its analysis can be supplemented by studies of the range of objects made for and used by the body. In the following I shall assume that the arrangements observed around the buried body can help us to understand the living body as well, how it was dressed and its parts articulated, insights that can be further supported by the rich data about ornaments from contemporary hoards and to a lesser extent settlement contexts (for further argument see Sørensen 1997).³

Although the change in the production of body objects (*i.e.* the emergence of objects used either solely to decorate the body or as extensions of the body) is well known and has been extensively analysed in terms of typology and distribution, little attention has been given to the possible implications of such changes in terms of body perception. Most of the work has been dedicated to understanding the role of costumes, treating them as a kind of proxy for the body. On this basis new ways of exploring the dressed person, including regional styles and gendered differences, have been proposed (Bergerbrant 2007, Sørensen 1997, Wels-Weyrauch 1988). The Bronze Age body itself, however, has mainly been pursued in rather abstract terms such as personhood (Fowler 2004) or dividual qualities (Brück 2006) which, although interesting, so far have been argued in a manner somewhat detached from detailed evidence about Bronze Age bodies themselves. It is also unclear how these arguments, which were developed for the English Middle Bronze Age, resonate with how bodies were perceived and performed in continental Europe, as the treatment of the dead body as well as the objects associated with the dressed person are very different between England and the continent (see also Brück 2009: 16–17). With regard to the Bronze Age body, the restricted evidence means that we have so far mainly assumed rather than investigated ideas about the body, and this aspect of Bronze Age Europe remains opaque despite its importance for understanding the ontological basis of society. Responding to this need, the following discussion is an attempt to trace any recurrent body themes in how people constructed their appearances during the Middle Bronze Age and to explore whether this can give us access to their ways of seeing the body in a manner that goes beyond merely suggesting common and general emphases.

Changes in the types of ornament produced and the emergence of purpose-made objects for different parts of the body arguably articulate a range of shifts in the presentation of the body and its parts. Within the new clothing practices we see an emphasis on certain parts of the body and with this a specific dressing schema that reveals perceptions of the body, the mapping out of the body surface so to speak. The ‘coding’ of this schema may also be discerned. This can be done by tracing some of the structures that were being imposed on the body by grouping the objects by the character of their relationship to the body, and using this to identify the emergence of new body-object relationships. To do this I shall return to an earlier argument in which I suggested that we can analyse the construction of the dressed social person by deconstructing appearance into the three elements of cloth, compositions and costumes (Sørensen 1997). Aiming to analyse the body schema that was simultaneously structuring and structured by Middle Bronze Age dressing practices we can add to that earlier analytical framework by also considering the form of objects, what they do, and how and where they are placed on the body, or in other words the analysis of the dressed person can be deepened by scrutinising the changing relationship between the body and objects.

Furthermore, as certain objects were routinely used to dress and adorn the body in

particular ways they may also have acquired the ability to both construct and reflect views of the body’s abilities and social connectedness. The use of large bronze objects, such as the substantial neck-ornaments, arm-spirals or ankle-rings, placed at obvious points of bodily divisions, may have marked these divisions as well as affected the functionality of the body – for example, how it could move – and thus may have produced new ways of seeing and conceptualising the body’s movements.

The first group of objects to consider is those nearest to the body. These are objects that were physically attached to the body in such a manner that they are integrated with the body; they are permanently or semi-permanently part of it, but they are not extensions of the body (see below), and I shall label them *attached objects*. These are typically objects such as finger-rings and earrings. In the Middle Bronze Age some types of arm and ankle-rings also belong in this category and at times they seem to have been either cast directly on the limb or added at a young age (Laux 1981, Lohof 1994). These objects may have been conceived of as part of the person, as integral to their social identity in the same way as wedding rings are in many societies now. Such objects were presumably ‘added’ to people when they reached a specified stage in the life cycle, and they are likely to have followed their ‘owner’ (including into death) unless particular cultural practices dictated that they were removed again at another point in the life cycle. The second group of ornaments that we can identify I shall call *associated objects*. These were objects that could be associated with the person as they were used to decorate the body although they are removable and not physically part of the body. This group typically includes neck-rings, ornamental buckles and belt adornments, as well as large arm and leg ornaments in the forms of rings or spirals. The use of such objects was in principle temporal; they could be added and removed according to prescriptions and expectations about events and people. The third group, *the additive objects*, refers to items that were sewn onto or in other ways attached to pieces of garments, as in the case of buttons, different types of attachments and at times pins.⁴ They were probably seen as part of the quality of the garment itself and may have indicated what kind of garment it was rather than been directly linked to the body, and their presence or absence would be dictated by the individual’s access to and use of such clothing. Finally, there is a group of objects, which although not directly annotating or decorating the body are of interest as they act as extensions of the body; they may therefore have been involved in discourses about and perceptions of the body, its boundaries and abilities. These are objects, for example axes and swords, that are literally used as an extension of the body’s limbs and in so doing they add to the performance and abilities of the body in an explicit manner. For instance, the sword transforms the arm’s potentials, it is the extension of the arm; but for its animation it is dependent on the arm – the two are mutually dependent.

Object category	Characteristics	Social dimension
<i>Attached objects</i>	Objects that were considered part of the body	Added to the person at a particular stage of the lifecycle, may be removed at a later stage
<i>Associated objects</i>	Objects that could be associated with the body	Temporal and societal variations in use
<i>Additive objects</i>	Objects sewn onto garments	Social differentiation
<i>Extensions</i>	Objects that extend the capacity of the body	Social differentiation

Fig. 6.1: Object categories

Whereas attached and additive objects were common in the Early Bronze Age, it is with the Middle Bronze Age that the associative objects first became a distinct feature of the dressed person. At that time bronze objects as extensions of the body became common, more types developed and these became more ergonomically designed around the

capabilities of the body (for example through the development of handles on weapons and tools). This means that objects that were not either part of the body or of garments but rather additions or extensions to the body were being conceptualised and made. In their design they encapsulate, it seems, new ideas of the body including which objects fit its different parts. In this process, qualities and distinctiveness were probably being assigned to these parts, and a schema of a compositional body emerged. This is expressed most forcefully in the production of large ornaments used by women.

The data show a use, from the late Early Bronze Age onwards, of ornaments designed for attachment to particular parts of the body, but also increasing variations in the relationships between such objects and the body. Through the use of these *body-specific types* the body is not just randomly or evenly decorated and adorned; its articulation becomes specific as its constituent parts are emphasised and their distinct character stressed. In particular, a distinction between the torso and the limbs (including the head) may be discerned. This is expressed in two ways. Firstly, there are some distinct differences in the designs of the objects. Spirals and rings were used to decorate the limbs but on these parts of the body we rarely see the various forms of disc and plate designs that are found on objects made for the torso, such as the belt boxes found in northern Europe. Secondly, whereas similarities in design and symmetrical arrangements often are used to create visual links between the limbs, the connection between the adornment of the torso and other parts of the body is less strong. This suggests that the Bronze Age body in itself was recognised as a corporeal construct or being. It also means that there was an obvious potential for further differentiation of body parts – such as the common distinction between ornaments for the upper and the lower arm.

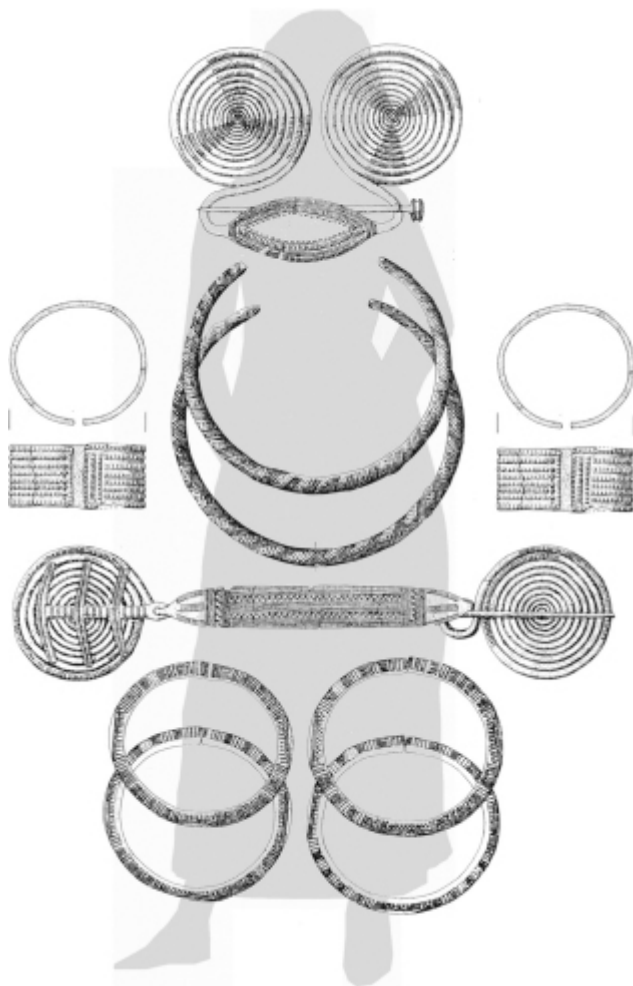


Fig. 6.2: Objects for different parts of the body from Deutsch Evern, Germany (after Laux 1971: table 40)



Fig. 6.3: Example of Middle Bronze Age ornaments from Hungary in the Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest (photo M.L.S. Sørensen)

This scheme of division between limbs and torso is not surprising and has a strong correlation with the obvious physical division of the surface of the body; but the regularity and standardisation of the schema is interesting. Simultaneous with the emphasis on different parts of the body, we can also observe a strong tendency for *multiplication* of objects and *symmetry* of arrangements. Through the use of the former principle the appearance of the body can be enhanced through the addition of more of the same objects at the same positions on the body. It is, however, interesting that this only applies to certain kinds of objects, typically either arm or ankle rings or additive objects sewn onto garments. There is thus a differentiation between objects that play a distinct, singular role in the composition, and those that can be multiplied. Most types of neckrings,^s some fibulae types and large objects such as beltplates or buckles are, for instance, usually singular and often appear as a part of a set in which there is only one of them even if there may be several examples of other types, such as armrings. This is, for example, seen in the late Early Bronze Age female costumes from the Lüneburg area of northern Germany (Kristiansen 1974, Laux 1971) and throughout the Bronze Age in Scandinavia (e.g. Kristiansen 1974). Symmetry may be seen as a means of uniting the different parts of the body, as it creates visual links and coherence between parts and ensures the impression of wholeness through order and structure, while at the same time it enhances the effect of each object. The extreme illustration of how symmetry may provide an impression of unity is the example of leg spirals linked through a small chain found in graves in southern Germany (Sørensen 1997). Through the strong use of symmetry the emphasis on the parts is enclosed and encoded within the wholeness of the body.

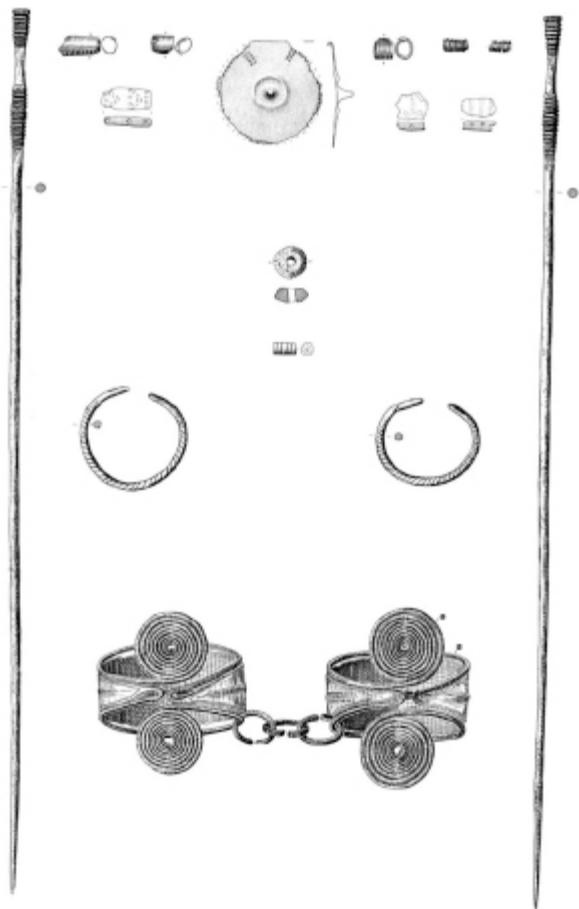


Fig. 6.4: Symmetrical ornaments from Upflamör, Germany (after Pirling 1980: table 53)

Investigating the recurrent themes of the clothed body, we seem to find a simultaneous emphasis on particular parts of the body, including a strong division between the torso and the other parts, and a striving towards symmetrical arrangements. If we were to characterise the body attitude reflected through such compositions we might call it an ordered, annotated body where the script follows relatively set prescriptions for how the body may be parcelled up as well as joined. To use an idea expressed by Marilyn Strathern,⁶ the standard use of objects on particular parts of the body creates coordinates within which the body appears and is understood both as a unit and as the combination of different parts. This use of objects appears like a 'writing on the body' but a writing about the body itself – including, of course, its relationship to others and its involvement in social relations, but also about what the body is. This does not mean that we should claim that there existed a discursive Bronze Age understanding of the body that was formulated in these specific or similar terms. Rather this statement helps to clarify how notions of body annotations may be shared through their underlying schema or use of coordinates. It also helps to locate how changes in the ways of doing things may emerge through transformations of these underlying

structures and how, through such transformations, new ways of presenting and making the body can emerge. In the case of the Middle Bronze Age, the schema that seems to have emerged was one that explored the potential of bronze to make new forms with specific and detailed purposes, and how these became articulated around an ordered way of presenting the body as composed of different parts. In this process, we might see the development from one kind of body discourse to another.

One important example of an object that is different structurally in terms of its interaction with the body is the sword. This is one of the most interesting body-orientated inventions during this time. It probably developed from the smaller multi-purpose stabbing weapons that existed during the Early Bronze Age, such as rapiers (Harding 2007; Sofaer and Sørensen forthcoming). As the extension of the arm, it is made with the sole purpose of fighting another person face-to-face. Without being the body as such, the sword has an intimate connection to the individual. Its quality, centralised production and widespread distribution hint at the substantial importance that it gains and also suggests that it is socially different from other, contemporary objects (Harding 2007).

The difference between bodies

But how did different bodies fit these schemas – were such schemas equally relevant and available to all? Several layers of differentiation appear when we begin to explore the available data. It has, for example, been shown that regional ornament sets and ways of composing these on the body can be detected in many parts of Europe (*e.g.* Sørensen 1997; Wels-Weyrauch 1988). This suggests an emphasis on regional differences; there is also, however, a gender dimension to these observations as they show that women's bodies were stressed in particular ways. It can therefore be argued that the use of objects in these compositions was dictated on one hand by a concern with showing regional links and on the other hand by shared schemas about women's appearance. The latter emphasis, moreover, overwrote other differences such as the 'wealth' of the individual and the detailed typological appearance of the objects used (Sørensen 1997: 99–101). The presence of two major modes of women's dressing within each area furthermore suggests a desire for a further visual differentiation of women (Sørensen 1997). This might be due to a wish to mark, for example, age, maturity, or development (whether this was measured through bodily maturation or qualities such as moral status or obligations). Importantly, in terms of the argument constructed here, this observation suggests an explicit concern with the differences between people and simultaneously their categorisation. It is therefore interesting to note that the body schema outlined above applies much more strongly to the adult female than to children or to the male Bronze Age body. Although the relevant data have not yet been systematically reviewed, it seems that whereas the elaborate arm and leg rings may be found in connection to both males and females, the expression of symmetry is more obviously found in female assemblages and the disc and plate ornaments that emphasise the central point of the symmetrical body appear to be exclusively associated with women. Therefore, although the body schema outlined probably applied to all kinds of bodies, the confining coordinates of the body appear to have been more explicitly marked for adult women, whereas men's body contours often were challenged or extended by the use of objects as extensions of the body.

These attitudes to and reflections on the living, social body might have influenced the understanding of dead bodies as well. If this is the case, it may help us to explain some of the practices observed as a new burial rite (cremation) was being adopted by communities

whose prior tradition was inhumation. Investigating how the dead body itself is being treated and the types of constructions used may help to reveal contemporary perceptions of the state of the body including its needs and abilities.

For the late Early and Middle Bronze Age inhumation graves the burial practices were focussed on containing the individual body and preserving it as 'life-like' in composition and appearance: the body is presented as an integrated whole (Sørensen and Rebay 2008). Graves are constructed with this aim in mind and the dead body dressed and composed accordingly. The introduction of cremation seems to suggest a total change in body ideology with a shift to it being fragmented rather than whole. Cremation is therefore often presented as a burial practice that reduced the body to its essence or "... where the deceased was finally released from mortal existence..." (Barrett 1994: 119) or carried out with the explicit aim of the body's physical destruction in order to release the soul or other aspects of the person (Gräslund 1994). An extensive analysis of early cremation graves from several parts of central and northern Europe shows, however, a far more complex picture (Sørensen and Rebay-Salisbury forthcoming).⁷ There is, in particular, evidence of considerable attention towards making the fragmented cremated bodies appear as if they are still whole and have coherent bodily qualities. Our investigation of how the cremated body might have been perceived has therefore been based on analysis of how the bodily fragments that resulted from the cremation were treated, proposing that the mere fact that they underwent further manipulation argues that they were still meaningful, and that they reveal something of contemporary perceptions about the body and its parts.

The question of how the introduction of cremation affected the perception of the body, and in particular the relationship between the body and its constituent parts, can be explored through two main themes: the presentation of the cremated bones within graves and the relationships between bodies and objects after the cremation (Sørensen and Rebay-Salisbury forthcoming). During the cremation ritual, the body and its relationship to things could be articulated at several stages. A common means of stressing the bodily quality of the cremated remains was through the use of objects to annotate the body after the remains were collected from the pyre and to treat them as if the remains still had the same ordered coordinates as the living body. In the placement of bronze objects such as pins and arm-rings, the links to body regions were made manifest and the body re-configured. Through these practices, which we may refer to as the 'technology of body coherence', the fragmented body was maintained as being a whole body or at least as showing an essential aspect of the whole body – its extent. It seems that the range of post-cremation practices was about the restoration or re-configuration of a bodily entity, of the whole. In other words, the idea of the body – whole and in fragments – persisted and survived the pyre, and the post-cremation burials aimed to give physicality to this idea of body. This is further augmented by the many instances where the cremated remains were rearranged in anatomical order or in a pseudo-anatomical order (for further details see Sørensen and Rebay-Salisbury forthcoming). Another means of stressing corporeality was reached through the grave constructions themselves, in which the fragmented bones were treated as if they were physically still of the same size and dimensions as a body (Fig. 6.5). This may involve different building styles and materials, but the structures used during the first phase of cremation practice share an emphasis on a body-sized graveroom and a bounded space. When the cremated remains were placed in such graves their qualities of bodiness were often being reinstated through the need for and use of the space – again, we see the emphasis on the similarities between the cremated remains and the whole body, with the former presented as if it is of the same size as the latter. Overall, it is clear that a number of

scenarios concerned with the status of the body after its cremation are observable during the introduction of cremation as a new funerary practice. None of them were used consistently throughout all areas, and they rather appear as part of the processes of learning to think about the dead and now cremated body and its needs in new ways. They suggest that the relationships between bodies and objects is one that is discursive and can be changed – it can be deliberately worked on, taken apart, maintained or altered, but it can also be resilient to change and conservative.

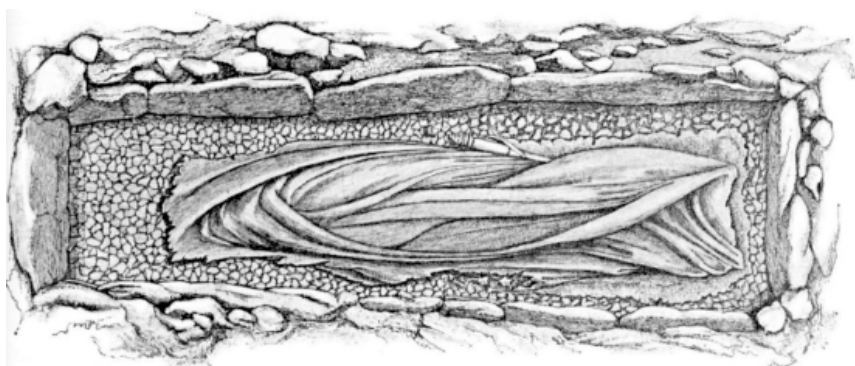


Fig. 6.5: Cremation burial from Hvidegård, placed, wrapped and dressed like an inhumation (Brøndsted 1938–1948: 107, after Herbst 1848)

This seemingly ambiguous treatment of the body during the change from inhumation to cremation can be interpreted as revealing that people's perceptions of the body were deeply rooted and could not easily change, and that a core part of this was about seeing bodies as composite wholes united through the ordered relationship between their parts. The body in death, whether fragmented through cremation or still intact, was therefore at this point in time dominantly treated as a coherent and significant substance in need of a 'resting place' and made to appear as, or at least to resonate with, the lived body by reference to its physical outline and order. As the body was understood through a range of specific ideas about its parts and their connectedness, it was apparently straightforward to remake the cremated body, despite its fragmentation, by reconfirmation of these qualities.

Despite this apparent emphasis on the body whole it seems that there was no need to necessarily recover all cremated bones. Often, only a partial amount of the burnt bones is found in the graves; the incomplete nature of the selection of bone is true even after allowing for taphonomic factors. It seems that the interment of only some of the bones was sufficient for the further stages of the funerary rites. In most parts of central and northern Europe there is usually no evidence of what happened to the rest of the remains. For English Middle Bronze Age cremation burial practices it has been argued that the bones were used to annotate the cultural landscape, or were distributed along kinship lines and female alliances (*e.g.* Brück 2005). The suggested practice of fragmenting and dispersing human bones may indicate that the body was thought of as consisting of many parts rather than being an undividable entity, and might indicate a relational concept of personhood or one similar to the 'dividual' person (*ibid.*). It is important to stress here that while human remains may have been understood and used in this manner in England, the living body was decorated and visualised in a manner that was very different to what we see on the

continent. The ranges of ornament types used in the two areas were unlike and they were used differently on the body (Roberts 2007). In particular, the complex necklaces with rows of beads combined through spacer beads, which so dominate the ornaments of the late Early Bronze Age in Britain, are largely absent from the continent when we come to the Middle Bronze Age and are replaced by cast bronze ornaments. Recent research in Britain (Woodward 2002), based on wear and repair patterns, suggests that spacer bars and beads were heirlooms that were being reintegrated into women's ornaments as they were handed down through generations. The idea of dividuality may thus appear as a possible theme at several levels of bodily performance and manipulation in Britain, whereas there is no evidence for this in central and northern Europe so far. The period III Damsgård burial from northern Denmark provides an exceptional window into another kind of practice as excellent preservation conditions and the protection of the covering barrow fill made it possible to reconstruct the temporal event of a cremation and its subsequent burial treatment (Olsen and Bech 1996). The monument consisted of a shallow cremation pit and approximately 20 cm south of it a small rectangular stone cist. From the remains associated with each of these features it was possible to establish that at the end of the cremation, and potentially while the remains were still hot and smouldering, parts of the skeletal remains and other finds were removed from the pit and placed in the cist. It seems, however, that the collection was done hastily and some bronze items were left behind in the pyre. This careless selection even applied to such distinct bones as the cranium, where easily identifiable pieces that fitted each other were found in the two features. After the construction of the cist, both structures were covered by a barrow built of turf.

Bronze Age body parts

As a final point, I shall briefly consider body parts as detachable. Although relatively rare in temperate Europe in the Bronze Age, the representations of humans that do exist seem generally to be fragments of narratives rather than representations of bodies, as noted earlier. Amongst the exceptions to this pattern are the so-called foot soles and hand prints as well as depictions of arms found in Scandinavia. On the rock carvings these images are usually life-size or bigger but are presented detached from bodies and not integrated within sceneries or associated with other motives (Coles 2005). Various interpretations have been proposed, but they still appear enigmatic and exotic within their Bronze Age context. A particularly striking image is the hand with the four straight fingers and the bent thumb. This particular image has been found on a limited range of very specific sites in Scandinavia, suggesting some relationship to cult activities (Kaul 2004). In addition, they are found on a number of the large spectacle fibulae that appear to have been used by women and often are integrated into rich female ornament sets. On these fibulae the hands appear on the back, which means they were against the cloth and therefore not visible (Fig. 6.6). Therefore, if this particular way of depicting an arm is a sign of some ritual significance it clearly also draws links between the connotation of such activities and the clothed and adorned body. It is worth stressing that these depictions appear as a particular standardised and recognisable representation of a hand giving a sense of this being an arm with the fingers shown in a particular manner rather than a representation or a story in which the hand acts. This may confirm our impression of each detachable part of the body being understood as distinct, both on its own and in its relationship to the corporeal whole.



Fig. 6.6: Hand on the back of a fibula from Långbro, Sweden (after Jensen 2002: 446)

Concluding reflections

In these reflections upon attitudes to the body during the middle of the Bronze Age, I have not argued that we see something that is unique. On the contrary, the themes emerging could probably be found in different guises in many other cultural contexts. I have, however, tried to outline how we can trace a specific formulation of these ideas and that they had repercussions for how a range of practices were performed and transformed including the introduction of cremation burial rites. In particular, I believe that we see the development of an attitude to the body that emphasises its surface and utilises it as an arena of display, including the display of social identities. The ideas of map and mapping were helpful for the analysis as they provide analogies for how the body can be simultaneously understandable and stressed as a whole linked together through its symmetries, and yet navigated through the specific and differentiated parts. What I have not touched upon, however, is how this perception appears to change again during the Late Bronze Age, and indeed the whole question of how changing cognitive body maps may be part of societal change at various levels – the intension here was merely to make a contribution to that larger story.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Katharina Rebay-Salisbury for our many discussions about Bronze Age bodies during our time of working together. I am also grateful to the partners on the Leverhulme project “Changing beliefs of the Human body” for many inspiring discussions and events; in particular I would like to thank Oliver Harris, Jessica Hughes, and John Robb for their willingness to listen, consider and comment. I would also like to thank Joanna Appleby for reading and commenting on this paper and for always generously sharing her thinking about Bronze Age bodies.

Notes

- 1 This paper is an extended version of a paper titled ‘Living in divided bodies: Bronze Age body attitudes’ presented in the session ‘Bodies in pieces: the changing relations between body parts and bodies whole’ at the European Association of Archaeologists meeting in Zadar 2007.
- 2 The assignment of objects to male or female in this chapter is based on observations from graves supplemented with evidence from hoards. Where objects are found dominantly or exclusively with one sex it is assumed that there were gendered connections between that sex and the type of object. Objects may also be assigned gender association if they are found to be regularly integrated in assemblages with other objects that have gender associations; we can thus refer to male and female hoards despite the absence of sexed bodies associated with these assemblages.
- 3 The argument about the appearance of the body outlined here is based on assemblages found in inhumation graves supplemented by other evidence. Cremation burials tend to have far fewer objects in them and cannot in themselves support interpretations of how the living appeared; contemporary hoards do, however, suggest that the production of large display ornaments was ongoing and that these objects were in use during the period when cremation spread and became common.
- 4 Pins are interesting in the Bronze Age as they seem to change in terms of what kind of role they play. During the Middle Bronze Age they are often very large (Sørensen 1997) and it is possible that they might have been both associative and additive objects depending on regional practices.
- 5 This is in contrast to the Early Bronze Age, when several neckrings can be used together; at this time the neckrings were typologically similar to currency bars and their additive quality may relate to these two types having shared roots.
- 6 M. Strathern made this point during a workshop in June 2007 as part of the Leverhulme ‘Changing Beliefs of the Human Body’ project.
- 7 As a sub-project within the Leverhulme funded project ‘Changing beliefs of the Human Body’, Katharina Rebay-Salisbury and myself have conducted a three-year project investigating changing attitudes to the body during the introduction of cremation in Central and Northern Europe (Sørensen and Rebay-Salisbury forthcoming).

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7. Cremations: fragmented bodies in the Bronze and Iron Ages

Katharina Rebay-Salisbury

Introduction

A book about body parts and wholes that primarily addresses the actual, physical partibility of the body would be incomplete without a chapter on cremation. Cremation replaced inhumation as the preferred burial practice during the Bronze Age and this change impacted the way bodies were encountered: bodies became fragmented through the process of cremation. Cremation is one of the most powerful techniques of transforming the body after death and breaking it into parts; however, it does not fully destroy the body. The cremated bones, which are left after the corpse has been exposed to the funerary pyre, are as real as the physical body had been during life. The evidence of Bronze and Iron Age funerary practices reveals that the cremated remains were a matter of importance; their treatment, culturally varied as it was, points at a recognised connection between the physical remains and the cremated person. That some idea of personhood was retained is evident in how the burnt remains are treated, for instance with graves being constructed and re-visited throughout later European Prehistory (Sørensen and Rebay-Salisbury forthcoming). The enduring ‘presence’ of the person even after death had bodily qualities and properties. The survival of the idea of a body, however, does not have to mean that the complete recovery of all burnt bones after the cremation was important or desired. The archaeological evidence proves quite the reverse, as in many cases only a part of the body ended up in urns or burial pits; usually only a non-representative amount of bones is found in the graves. In these cases, poor preservation, site formation processes or problems with bone recovery do not suffice as satisfactory explanations. In this chapter I will explore three aspects of ‘breaking up the body’ through cremation. First, the material changes to the body on the pyre; second, the relationship between the body and associated objects; and third, urns and their associated meanings. The treatment of the burnt remains after cremation often serves to reconstitute the body as a kind of whole, creating a corporeal image that is conceivable as a person. Cremation graves are an arena where the tension between body parts and wholes can be tangibly negotiated and expressed.

Cremation as transformation

After death, the body undergoes a number of transformations, making it a different matter

and the passive subject of practices performed by others. Some changes are natural and occur almost inevitably: the corpse decays, decomposes, and breaks. A number of cultural responses have been developed to deal with this and simultaneously provide comfort for the loss of a member of society; in later European Prehistory the most common response was burial underground. As a consequence, the transformation of the corpse does not have to be witnessed and can take place in disguise. The high frequency of reopening graves that has been noted in some areas suggests that after this transformation in the grave bodies were revisited, handled, stripped of grave goods, and thus encountered in their fragmented nature as skeletal bodies. The practice of cremation accelerates the transformation of the corpse and has probably been deliberately employed to transform the body in a planned and quick manner. The cremating community could play an active role in the transformation of the dead body and control its result in a reliable and predictable way, as well as controlling the time span between death and fragmentation. Moreover, cremation does not fully destroy the body, but leaves behind fragments of bones that can be subject to further treatment.

Most of our interpretations of cremation burials in prehistory are overshadowed by analogies with classical antiquity (e.g. Patroclus' funeral) as well as cremation in modern India (Kaliff 2005, Parry 1994), but valuable osteological data may help us to gain a more nuanced understanding of cremation burials. Studies in modern crematoria and experimental cremations (Becker *et al.* 2005, Holck 1987, Leineweber 2002, Mäder 2002, McKinley 1989, McKinley 1993, Schmidt and Symes 2008, Wahl 1982) can give us data on the physical transformation of bones in relation to temperature, the amount and weight of bones to expect from one individual after cremation, and the grade of fragmentation of the bones. Comparison between osteological data from modern cremations and prehistoric graves raises a number of questions about completeness and representation.

What is left of a person after cremation is more than just dust. The cremated remains have physical qualities that are important to consider: they are chemically transformed, shrunken, broken and deformed bones. In the cemetery of Pitten, for example, where many of the cremations were left in situ, whole body parts remained articulated (Teschler-Nicola 1985). As exceptional as this may be (bones were usually recovered and placed in a different place to where the cremation had taken place), it shows that some bone fragments, like pieces of the skull, the vertebral column, the teeth and the long bones, were still easily identifiable after the cremation. Studies in modern crematoria have shown that a total, complete cremation always results in a considerable amount of burnt bones. It is impossible for bones to disappear without a trace, and specific bones like the *axis* or the *pars petrosa* almost always remain intact. The weight of bones is dependent on sex, age and health status, but at least between 1227 and 3001g can be expected for adult individuals (McKinley 1993). Most bone reports from excavated graves, however, cite assemblages with a much smaller weight. Part of this loss can be explained by the recovering techniques on excavations and washing in bone labs, but even considering these factors, the expected bone weight is rarely met. We have to look for alternative explanations for the missing bones.

Fire is in this context the most important force of transforming the body into pieces, but other cultural practices can also have an impact on the degree of fragmentation. Extinguishing the pyre with water or wine, for example, can cause further breakage of the hot and brittle bones (McKinley 1989). The possibility that bones were deliberately crushed and ground in order to decrease their size and fragment the bodies further has also been raised as a possibility (Evans 1997, White 1982), but there seems to be little reliable evidence to support this theory (McKinley 1993). Moreover, deliberate breakage can easily be overwritten by taphonomic processes such as frost, soil pressure and growing roots, as

well as careless post-excavation handling.

When excavating cremated remains it is important to note the representation of body parts and confirm the presence of each anatomical region or determine whether or not certain body parts had been selected. The arrangement of bones is also important. In the cemetery of Cottbus-Alvensleben, Germany, for instance, patterns of ordering the bones within urns were documented: some long bones were put in parallel order, some vertebrae in anatomical order and pieces of the skull were often placed on top of other bones (Großkopf 2004: 148–149). Small bone fragments on the bottom of the urn and big pieces on top, however, may hint at long transport ways prior to the burial of the urn, as unintentional shaking can result in this sorting of the fragments.

It is essential to look at all these different parameters to appreciate how a dead person was understood after cremation: reassembling the body in anatomical order, for instance, hints at a specific understanding of the cremated remains as a reconstituted person rather than a random gathering. The corporeal component of the person can remain present even as a transformed bodily entity. In particular, the practice of putting the remains in urns may reinforce the sense of integrity of the body (see below). In other contexts, however, it seems that the idea of the continuity of the body did not necessitate the complete recovery of all cremated bones; this may be the case if only a partial amount of burnt bones is found in the graves. It seems that the internment of a few body parts, as a token or *pars pro toto*, sufficed for the funerary rites in such cases. What happened to the other parts is not clear. Traditionally, the weight of a cremation had been associated with the degree of care with which the burnt bone was collected from the pyre, but alternative scenarios can be envisioned, such as the scattering of bones in the landscape or the distribution of bones among several mourners as a physical means of remembrance (Chapman and Gaydarska 2007). The practice of fragmenting and dispersing a body might indicate that the body was thought of as consisting of many parts rather than being an undividable entity, and might indicate a relational concept of personhood or one similar to the ‘dividual’ person (as discussed by Busby 1997, LiPuma 1998, Strathern 1988).

In contrast to most of mainland Europe, where individual and – much less common – group burials in pits within the boundaries of a cemetery are the norm throughout the Bronze and Iron Ages, cremation burials on the British Islands and in some parts of Scandinavia can take more peculiar forms. The majority of people on the British Isles during the Middle and Late Bronze Age were treated in a way that is hard to trace. The exposure of bodies might have resulted in fragmented and disarticulated pieces of human bone that are found in ‘liminal’ areas of settlement sites, wet places and caves. Joanna Brück (1995) followed Bloch and Parry (1982) in arguing that during this time fragmentation, transformation and regeneration of the human body were central cultural metaphors through which people conceptualised the passage of time. Broken artefacts and fragmented dead bodies were probably seen as a source of fertility and new life during the Middle and Late Bronze Age, and used in associated rituals.

By applying analogies with the ancient Indian Vedic tradition, Anders Kaliff has similarly tried to re-interpret the diverse range of archaeological features found on burial grounds in Scandinavia (2005). He argues that inhumations and the deposition of cremated bones in pits might be a form of burial reserved for certain special individuals, whereas the majority of people would have been cremated and abandoned; stone structures and the open landscape might have served as final resting places. An investigation of the spatial distribution of particularly durable parts of the skull, the *pars petrosa*, in Swedish Late Bronze Age burial sites has in fact demonstrated that features formerly interpreted as ‘bone

layers or shallow grave pits' must have been sites where the actual cremation had taken place. Parts of the body had been left, while others were gathered together and buried elsewhere. A fragmentation of the body had taken place by separating the cremation site from the site of the final deposition of the remains (Arcini 2005). In Iron Age Estonia and Finland, bones and artefacts are scattered on fields that are in use over centuries. Although these 'cemeteries under level ground' have a collective character, the burials of single persons are sometimes discernable, especially male weapon graves. The visible, physical destruction of a person through cremation may be a crucial element in the transformation into an ancestor (Wickholm and Raninen 2006).

In most of Europe, however, persons as separate, bounded entities (individuals, not individualists) seem to be more emphasised in the burial evidence, for example through using separate funerary pyres and exclusive grave constructions. During the transition between inhumation and cremations in the Middle to Late Bronze Age, the idea of a full-length body in anatomical order was only slowly given up. Cremated bodies were treated, dressed and buried like a non-cremated body and great effort was made to reconstitute the bodily entity through various practices. It seems that the sense of bodily fragmentation becomes overwritten by post-cremation practices aimed at reassembling the body, at making it whole again. In Hvidegård, Denmark, for example, cremated bones were found wrapped in textile and equipped with weapons and tools (Sørensen and Rebay 2008b). Similarly, in grave 189 from the cemetery of Pitten, Austria, the body size and shape were confirmed through the stone grave architecture, while grave goods and ornaments were arranged exactly as they would be for an inhumation, with pins on both sides of the shoulders and pottery towards the head and the feet of the body (Sørensen and Rebay 2008a).

Partial cremation, although well documented ethnographically (Wahl and Wahl 1983, Wahl and Wahl 1984), does not seem to be an issue in the Bronze and Iron Age of Central Europe. Whereas it is not always clear what exactly happened when only one part of the body is present, there is no clear evidence of the deposition of cremated parts of the body next to parts of the corpses without any traces of burning. Despite the fact that old cemetery publications speak of partial cremation as a third mode of burial aside from inhumation and cremation in Hallstatt (Morton 1995: 46), more recent excavations could demonstrate that the use of little space for a high number of burials led to several graves intercutting. These complicated findings appeared as partial cremation to the 19th-century pioneers of cemetery archaeology in Hallstatt (Fig. 7.1). I would argue that partial cremation was probably not practised because it does not fit the temporal choreography of a 'proper funeral': the cremation of the whole body was necessary to transform the body.

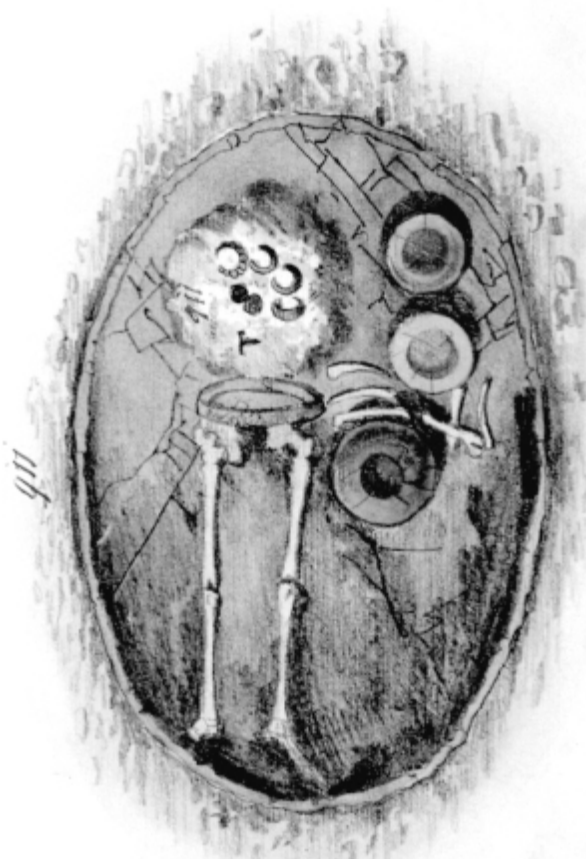


Fig. 7.1: Water colour drawing of a 'partial cremation' grave from Hallstatt by Isidor Engel (after Johann Georg Ramsauer's manuscript)

Cremated bodies and objects

In addition to the fragmentation of the body itself, the ties between bodies and objects can also become affected by fragmentation through the fire of cremation. Objects that were important for constructing and signifying identity in life, to the extent that they were inseparable elements of the body (see also Sørensen, this volume) can be treated in a variety of ways during a cremation burial. Close relationships between bodies and objects can be dissolved or maintained and deliberately emphasised through the intervention of the mourning community; body parts can be singled out to be given additional significance by placing objects with them. The connection between some objects, the body, and a person's identity can sometimes be so close that tools, ornaments and dress seem to have become parts of the body and its appearance. Objects found with cremated bones are often not only cremated with the body, but also gathered together with the cremated remains to be deposited with them, thus maintaining the link between bodies and objects. This practice can include elements of the dress as well as tools.

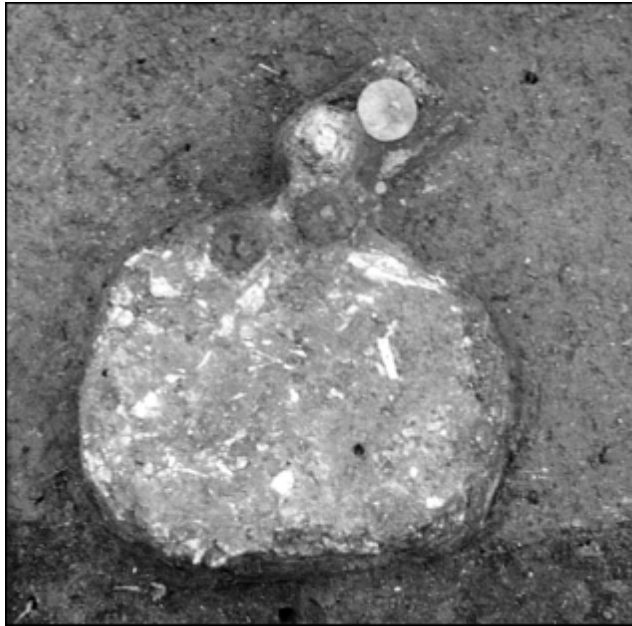


Fig. 7.2: Cremated bones with four spindle whorls from the burial mound of Zagersdorf, Austria (photograph by K. Kaus, Rebay 2002: Tafel 33)

Before cremation, bodies were usually dressed, adorned and laid out on the pyre in stretched extended position. The fire of cremation has a destructive effect on many of the bronze, glass and amber dress elements; depending on the position in the fire and the heat developed on the particular location, amber may burn, and glass and bronze can be damaged or melted completely to the extent that the original forms of objects can no longer be discerned. After this filter, it is difficult to reconstruct the original components of the cremation burial by the traces documented archaeologically, and impossible to determine how complete the burial is represented. We can only work with the positive evidence of presence of these kinds of grave goods, not with their absence. Examples of parallel cremation of bodies and bronze dress elements are legion, and a similar treatment of these and other objects to bodies suggests that in these contexts, they had to go through the same process of transformation as the body, and were perceived as its part. The four spindle whorls found in a Hallstatt cremation grave in Zagersdorf, for instance, have probably become a part of the woman during lifetime (Fig. 7.2) (Rebay 2002). They demonstrate spinning as an important, embodied action that was habitually performed by women. The fact that relationships between bodies and objects are maintained through death and the transformation of the body by cremation underlines the importance of material culture in the construction of identities.

There is, however, also evidence for a deliberate rupture of the connection between bodies and objects. Although it is often difficult to reconstruct an earlier presence of grave goods in cremation graves, and hard to tell if bones have been recovered in their 'original' position after having been deposited in the grave, the discolouring of bones through exposition to decaying metal, or traces of melted glass or metal on the bones, may be taken as a proof that ornaments and dress fittings were directly associated with the body and its

clothing. The separation of burnt bones and metal can probably be compared to the recurrent practice usually known as 'grave robbing' in the Bronze Age (Rittershofer 1987, Sprenger 1999). After a certain amount of time (which usually seems to include the time of transformation of the body, but may still be within living memory of the deceased), it seems to have been acceptable for the survivors to reopen graves, to disrupt or change the anatomical order of the bones, and to take goods of material value back into their possession.

A reverse practice is the routine addition of objects to the cremated body before it was deposited. The famous razors of the Nordic Bronze Age are a good example (Bradley 2006, Kaul 1998). Many of them were decorated with incised scenes that depict part of the journey of the sun, a crucial element of Nordic Bronze Age cosmology; they were highly symbolic objects, but, as evidence of use-ware and re-sharpening suggests, razors were also routinely used and many of them show traces of an intensive use life before they were deposited in graves. They are usually considered to be personal objects, but may also have been used to prepare the corpse for the funeral. Interestingly, despite their importance as a symbol of beauty and male identity they were not usually cremated with the body on the funerary pyre (Kaul 1998), but re-united with the cremated remains after they had been collected. Razors did not have a designated place on the 'coordinates' of the body, but were probably still considered to belong to the person; furthermore, the depiction of the travelling sun through day and night may well have been paralleled with life and death of the buried person.

Urns make bodies whole

Some aspects of the treatment of the remains after cremation let us investigate whether the body was perceived of in its parts or as a whole, and if fragments, parts of the body, or the body as a complete entity was emphasised. Cremated bodies are often associated with urns, and although it may well be that they are also personal possessions or household items of the deceased, the majority of urns are simple storage or cooking vessels, some of which have probably been made specifically for funerary purposes. Urn burials represent many additional practices that were completed after cremation: rather than just abandoning the body, burnt bones had to be gathered together, handled, placed in a container and buried. The simple urn grave is in fact the result of a series of actions in which the body becomes transformed, fragmented, relocated, reconstituted and eventually disposed of.



Fig. 7.3: House urn from Dreidorf, Germany (photograph by Andreas Praefcke, http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Gesichtsurne_Dreidorf.jpg)

Using urns as the container for the bodily remains provides a new form of corporeality for the cremated body, while simultaneously providing a stage for metaphorical connections. The bones, having been exposed through cremation, are set back into their 'proper' place, into the body of the vessel. The shape, form and decoration of urns can hint at how urns were understood: the motives of storage places, dwellings, or bodies of persons are omnipresent. The following examples express this quite explicitly: Funerary vessels known as house-urns (Fig. 7.3) are found in two clusters of distribution in later European Prehistory, an Italian cluster dating from the 10th to 8th centuries, and a northern European cluster (Denmark, Sweden, Germany, Poland) dating to the 7th and 6th centuries BC. Although architectural details can vary, a common theme is using the entrance of the house as the re-sealable or just symbolical opening of the urn. The meaning is clear: not only has the cremated body been contained, it has been given a home. Whereas the Italian house urns seem to reflect buildings where people lived, the northern European house urns seem to be modelled on storehouses and granaries (Bradley 2002, Sabatini 2007). These kinds of house-urns might emphasise the vessel's function as a storage place for cremated bones and furthermore underline Bloch and Parry's idea that mortuary rituals are often associated with notions of fertility (1982).



Fig. 7.4: Face urn from Neu Königsau, Germany (photograph by Andreas Praefcke, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Hausurne_Neu_K%C3%B6nigsau.jpg)

The connotation of urns with bodies is most directly and strikingly articulated in the case of face urns (Fig. 7.4). They have a wide spatial and chronological distribution ranging from the Bronze to the Iron Age, and are particularly common in northern Poland between the 7th and 2nd centuries BC (Kneisel in press, La Baume 1963). The ordinary shape of the vessels is only slightly altered to match bodily proportions. The nose and eyes make a face identifiable; the mouth is not usually represented. Some vessels are adorned almost like a body with real bronze earrings or necklaces, but also with incised decorations that may hint at gender or social status. Although some interpretations suggest that faces are merely added as a symbol to guard against evil, the most popular reading of face urns is that they actually resemble individuals and embody them through giving them a new skin in clay.

An alternative way to making the whole vessel a body is the addition of small humanising features like hands and feet that hint at the corporeality the urn resembles. Examples like the vessels from Dunaújváros, Hungary (Kovács 1992: 80), with an arm and dagger, and Százhalombatta, Hungary (Poroszlai 1992: 155), with two breasts and two arms, or a vessel literally standing on feet from Statzendorf, Austria (Fig. 7.5) (Rebay 2006: 92), underline the analogy between vessels and the human body.



Fig. 7.5: Vessel on feet from Statzendorf (Rebay 2006: 92)

Not only the form and fabrication of the funerary vessels are of relevance. Urns can take the place of a human body in the way they are handled and cared for. At least some of the urns were wrapped, clothed and even dressed with pins quite like a dead human person. This is documented, for example, by the rust stain left by an iron pin on the body of an urn from Niederkaina, Germany (Fig. 7.6) (Kaiser and Puttkammer 2007: 77): the pin had been used to hold the ‘shroud’ together and was placed according to the ‘correct’ parts of the body the urn resembles.

Urns as bounded, enclosed spaces are, in fact, an inversion of fragmentation and dispersion. A recurrent pattern is the covering of urns with stones, bowls, or sometimes even both – urns are spaces that had to be enclosed and the total enclosure of the bones was significant and required special attention. It is interesting, however, that the total closure is in many areas ruptured by subsequent artificial openings. Holes in the bowls covering an urn or in the urn themselves have been long since noticed and interpreted in many ways (Tackenberg 1976). One of the ideas is that the hole could be used as a pathway for the soul to escape from the bones or for temporary visits to the bones. Another interpretation suggests that the holes represent ritual killings of the pottery, to withdraw the pottery from the use of the living and dedicate it to the dead. Again, there may have been a concern with making the condition of the artefacts and the bodies similar. This may be an explanation for a rather unusual practice observed at the cemetery of Vollmarshausen, Germany, where 80% of all urns were found with an artificial opening on their side. A hole was punched into the body of the urns to enable offerings of fluids and food directly onto the cremated bones (Bergmann 1982). The offerings could have been made much more easily from above, but

the process of breaking the bounded entity of the urn must have added another meaning. If we interpret cremation as the fragmentation of a body, we can probably identify the repetition and variation of the same theme in the breaking of the urns. The urn, used to reconstitute the unity of the body, is shattered a second time.

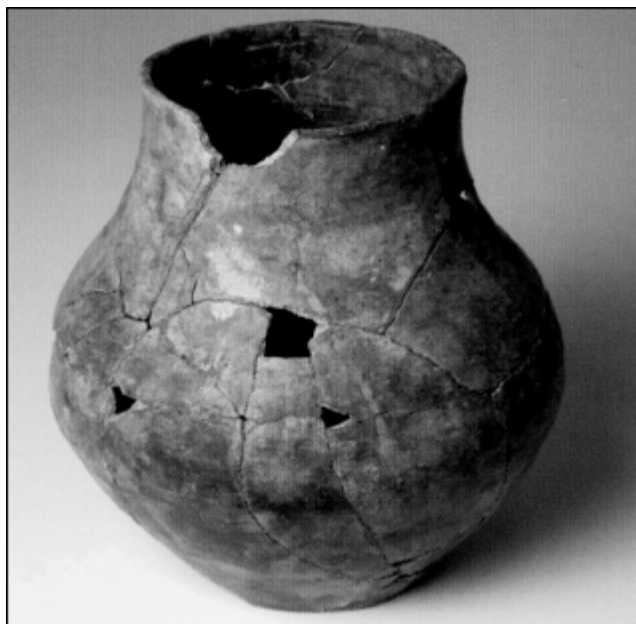


Fig. 7.6: Urn with rust stain from an iron pin (after Kaiser and Puttkammer 2007: 77)

Conclusion

Cremation burials in the Bronze Age provide a fascinating insight into the constant interplay of the body as whole and body parts. In this chapter I have argued that approaching cremation from the angle of fragmentation instead of destruction of the body opens up new avenues of interpretation. The burnt remains do maintain their significance through cremation, albeit transformed into another substance, and their high degree of fragmentation through the fire is a starting point for a range of cultural practices, of which there is plenty of variation in different contexts. Objects such as dress elements, tools and urns are also entwined in this process, and may be treated analogously or in a contrasting way to the body. Fragments of cremated bodies can stand metonymically for whole bodies and can be used for dispersal and enchainment, but, on the other hand, practices can aim at ‘keeping the body together’, at reconstituting and emphasising its wholeness.

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8. Reconfiguring anatomy: ceramics, cremation and cosmology in the Late Bronze Age in the Lower Danube

Nona Palincas

“y así eso que á tí te parece bacía de barbero,
me parece á mí el yelmo de Mambrino,
y á otro le parecerá otra cosa.”
(Don Quixote de la Mancha – Volume 1, Chapter 25)

“A man may fish with the worm that hath eat of a
king, and cat of the fish that hath fed of that worm.”
(Hamlet – Act 4, Scene 3)

Introduction

This paper takes as its subject a group of figurines and ceramic vessels found in the area of the Lower Danube (Fig. 8.1), which date from the first half of the Late Bronze Age (c. 1550–1350 BC). Two pieces from the partly contemporary late phase of the Szeremle ceramics will also be considered. These ceramics are characterised by their rich decoration and rich iconography. Previous studies of this material (which is collectively known as Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare¹) have focused on periodisation and chronology, the search for social structure (family groups, age and gender), or reconstruction of local costumes and myths. In this paper I take a different line and argue that these ceramics, on which parts of human, animal bodies and objects are frequently represented in unexpected configurations, can be used to shed light on a complex world-view, in which different parts of the cosmos are inter-related, or entangled.

Background

Considerable quantities of Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare ceramics have been published in comparison with other ceramic repertoires from the region. They consist mainly of vessels, but there are also a large number of anthropomorphic statuettes, a few ornithomorphic figurines, non-representational figurines (*Brotleibidole*), zoomorphic and ornithomorphic vessels, models in clay of various objects: axes, greaves, tables, wheels, chariots, boats, one house, chairs, benches, rattles, shoes and jewellery, as well as objects with undeterminable function (Dumitrescu 1961; Todorović 1977: 135–136, pl. 30; Filipov 1976; Șandor-Chicideanu 2003; Shalganova 1995; Reich 2006: 97–103; Dietrich 2009). The shape and

decoration are very varied but their style makes them easily recognisable. The frequency of the decoration varies with the type of vessel, but in general appears on about one third of the pottery (Nica 1987: 29; Șandor-Chicideanu 2003: 95–6; Krstić 2003: 143).² The decoration appears baroque. It is made primarily by adding pricked depressions to create a groove (*Stichkanaltechnik*) that is then filled in with a white substance (stamping is used for small, repeated motifs, channelling is rare, incision is exceptional). The white substance was previously thought to be made of lime, but at least in some cases it has now been shown to be made of bone (Dumitrescu 1961: 160–2).³ The Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare ceramics come from both settlements and cemeteries. The settlements are few and not comprehensively published (Hänsel, Roman 1984; Nica 1987 and 1995; Șandor-Chicideanu 2003: pl. 105–133), but the cemeteries are much more numerous and some of them have been published in full. The only funerary rite practised was cremation. The cemeteries are usually of medium size, often comprising tens or even hundreds of graves but never thousands. In addition to the human bones,⁴ the graves contain pottery, clay figurines, and – very rarely – bronze objects, bone objects and flint tools. There are also a small number of mammals and bird bones, snails and undeterminable organic materials.⁵

Several authors have dealt with the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare archaeological record (for extensive literature see Șandor-Chicideanu 2003 and Reich 2006), but only those exploring aspects directly relevant to the approach used here will be further discussed. A large amount of published archaeological material and site description comes from the work of Vladimir Dumitrescu, who in 1961 published the cemetery from Cârna-‘Grindu Tomii’.⁶ Monica Șandor-Chicideanu published in 2003 an impressive amount of Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare finds from newly excavated settlements and cemeteries situated close to Dumitrescu’s excavation. Christine Reich recently published sites of the Szeremle Group, excavated long ago, and presented a detailed analysis of the incrustated pottery in the Middle and Lower Danube (2006). This and other sites were later used by authors like Hachmann (1968), Hänsel (1968: 139–142, table II, annex 12), Chicideanu (1986), Șandor-Chicideanu (2003) and Reich (2002 and 2006), who focused on shapes and on the mostly very rich decoration. Motifs were broken down into minute parts (the best example is that of Reich 2002 and 2006: 32–2327) and their distribution both within the cemeteries and regionally explored in terms of cultural phases and/or kinship and codes expressed by decoration.



Fig. 8.1: Distribution of Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare ceramics and some major sites (basic map by Iuliana Barnea).

Some scholars have also shown interest in the iconography of the ceramics. Schumacher-Matthäus (1985), for instance, has attempted to reconstruct prehistoric costumes from the appearance of the figurines and contemporary bronze objects from the Middle Danube region (mainly the Koszider bronzes), whereas Blischke has studied the relationship between the anthropomorphic figurines and cordiform bronze pendants (2002: 79–90; see also below). Reich has argued that the ceramics indicate a local belief in a numinous Bird Human/Human Bird in the area of Late Bronze Age Encrusted Pottery (*Vogelmensch/Menschvogel*; 2005).

Methodological reflection

These earlier studies often share a concern with organising the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare ceramics into typological categories based mainly on geometric criteria, or (as I will discuss further below) with using the iconography to elicit precise identifications of gods, myths, or cultural practices. My aims here are rather different. In line with the theme of this volume, I analyse the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare concept of body, starting from the observation that the ceramics incorporate representations of parts of the human body, of animals, plants and objects, and sun motifs.

In this respect, a very relevant class of Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare ceramics is the figurines of type Φ . There are at least 250 figurines of this type (Șandor-Chicideanu 2003: 103). Most have been found in graves. Although the vast majority comes from children's graves (Hachmann 1968: 369; Schumacher-Matthäus 1985: 8–9; Șandor-Chicideanu 2003: 111), a small number have been found in graves belonging to persons of an older age: an adolescent in Cârna-‘Grindu Tomii’, Grave 28 (Dumitrescu 1961: 250–251; Nicolăescu-Plopșor 1961: 368), a male adult in Korbovo-‘Glamija’, Grave 24 (Krstić 2003⁸), and most probably an adult in Plosca-‘Cabana de metal’, Grave 31A (Șandor-Chicideanu 2003: 111⁹).

The figurines represented in Figure 8.2 are fairly representative of this type, although it is true that not all examples show the same complexity of composition. I would like to emphasise two points here. First, the human anatomy as we know it is reconfigured. The bodies have no shoulders (except the examples from Kličevac and Dupljaja, here Fig. 8.3/1 and 8.5/c), elbows or legs. But probably the most unexpected change in human anatomy consists of the removing of the breasts from the chest¹⁰ and placing them on the hips – more precisely on the dress in the region of the hips. This relocation of body parts from the upper to the lower body might be taken to indicate a concern to reunite the bodily parts involved in fertility (conventionally represented at the point of the abdomen and hips) into one region (see further comments below). It is therefore worth noting that the figurine shown in 8.2/1 appears to represent the body in an advanced state of pregnancy. Secondly, these figurines suggest a dominant concern with representing correspondences between the human body and its environment – man-made, natural and cosmic. For instance, the hands of the figurines are positioned so as to reproduce the shape of a cordiform pendant (Blischke 2002: 79–83; fig. 24), and their body relies on the skirt to maintain its upright position.¹¹ Further, the figurines have a belt around the waist that looks like a snake (Dumitrescu 1961: 266).¹² If one agrees to this identification and accepts the snake as indicating the level of the surface of the earth, then the body can be seen as divided into an upper half that stands for what is above the surface of the earth (in the air) and the lower half that stands for what is below that surface (in the earth). The figurines are decorated with sun motifs. These can be placed on both halves of the body. They are most commonly placed on the chest in the place of the breasts (Fig. 8.3/1), but are also found around the eyes (Fig. 8.3/1–2), replacing the mouth (Fig. 8.3/1), on the breasts situated on the hips (Fig. 8.2), and on the back (*e.g.* Dumitrescu 1961: pl. 152).

The Φ -type figurines epitomise a characteristic that is visible across the whole range of Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare ceramics: they are made of parts of various types of bodies – human, animal, plant, objects, and symbols of a celestial body (the sun; for the earth see the comments on clay and minerals below). At the same time, the Φ -type figurines – as well as all the types of anthropomorphic figurines – differ from the rest of the ceramics in that their bodies are represented as divided into an upper and a lower half, *i.e.* they are structured with respect to an axis.

Given that the rest of the ceramics are built on the same basic principles, the meaning of

this unexpected body configuration of the anthropomorphic figurines cannot be explained without extending the analysis to the whole range of clay objects. At the same time, the procedure used above for the Φ -type figurines – *i.e.* the description of a particular ‘anatomy’ starting from a category of ceramics – cannot be used further, for several reasons, the most important of which is that in the end one would have to deliver an explanation for the anatomy of each of those categories. More precisely, this approach would lead to questions such as ‘How can one account for the ‘constitution’ of a *bowl* like that in Figure 8.4/3, with snail-like lobes, human face and bronze necklace?’ I find this difficult, if not impossible, to answer. Another option in the search for the appropriate method that would enable us to make sense of this particular Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare anatomy would be to treat the ‘anatomical’ components like attributes of the analysed objects (*e.g.* the vessel in Fig. 8.4/3 would be described as: vessel + snail + human face + collar) and perform a cluster analysis to see how they relate to each other. This method would adequately mirror the aforementioned assembling of bodily parts of various species and objects, but it would ignore important characteristics of the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare anatomy: the *relocation* of bodily parts (as in the case of breasts on the Φ -type figurines), *substitution* (*i.e.* the skirt replacing the legs in Fig. 8.2, or sun motifs replacing mouth and breasts in Fig. 8.3/1), *similitude* (*i.e.* the representation of something so as to evoke something else: *e.g.* hands represented in a manner that evoke bronze pendants), *ambiguity* (*i.e.* the impossibility to clearly define attributes: does the upper part of the Ψ -type figurine in Fig. 8.6/4 represent a pair of raised arms or a pair of horns?), and *perspectivism*¹³ (*i.e.* the dependence of the perceived attribute on the angle of the gaze: in Fig. 8.4/3, what from one side looks like a snail, from another looks like the hair on a human head). To miss the possibility of commenting on these characteristics would be – as I will show below – to miss much of the point.

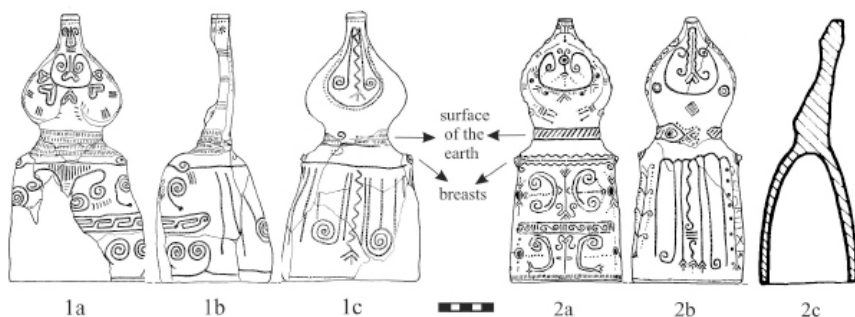


Fig. 8.2: Statuettes of Φ -type and LBA cosmology. 1. Cârna, Grave 102, 2. Grave 10 (after Dumitrescu 1961: pl. 159–60).

For these reasons I shall proceed by highlighting how, through the use of *relocation*, *substitution*, *similitude*, *ambiguity*, *perspectivism*, and *combination of various bodily parts*, we can engage with how these body parts, which according to our world-view belong to bodies of different kinds, are represented on individual clay objects – figurines, vessels, miniature clay models – so as to form a single body (a body with a re-configured anatomy). This approach allows us to question the relationship between the domains these body parts represent in our world-view as well as the position of the human body within these relationships. In my analysis, I shall employ our notions of human and non-human bodies,

animate and inanimate, and nature and culture as a frame for the interpretation. Although these categories arguably arise from our modern classification of the world, I believe they provide a useful analytical framework that can help us to explore and account for the particular Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare understanding of the body as represented on the ceramic with its anatomical re-configuration of the human body as it is split up and reorganised.

Analysis

Many of the figurines represent bodies of which *some parts are human while others are animal*. For example, both figurines from Dupljaja (F. Milleker 1929–1930; Petrović 1929–1930) and one from Orsoja (Filipov 1976: 104) have a human head with a bird beak (Fig. 8.5/a, d). Although this relationship is easier to recognise on figurines, it is also valid for vessels: in Figure 8.6/3a–b the bird stands on a pair of human legs. Importantly, the distinction between human and animal is often blurred. As already mentioned, one of the procedures used to this end is the ambiguity of the representation: the hands raised above the (slightly visible or sometimes altogether absent) head of the so-called Ψ -type figurines (ChicideanuŞandor and Chicideanu 1990: 59; fig. 2A; 5.3; 8.10) can be seen as a pair of horns (Fig. 8.6/4); the skirt-wearing figurine illustrated in Figure 8.3/3a–b has an upper part (head and arms?) evocative of the head of a cobra or adder (as pointed out by Medović 1997: 340; idem 2007: 41–2; fig. 38.1–4). The way in which objects are held and the angle of the gaze (*i.e.* the perspective) can also transform them from human to animal, or the other way round. On the vessel shown in Figure 8.4/3, what from one angle seems to be part of a human face, from another is a snail. Perspective and ambiguity can be intricately combined as in Figure 8.6/5. Seen from above, the upper half of the figurine with a skirt resembles the head of a bull, or cow, whilst seen from the front, one is not sure any more where the head of the bull/cow begins since its ears resemble the human arms characteristic for the Φ -type figurines.¹⁴

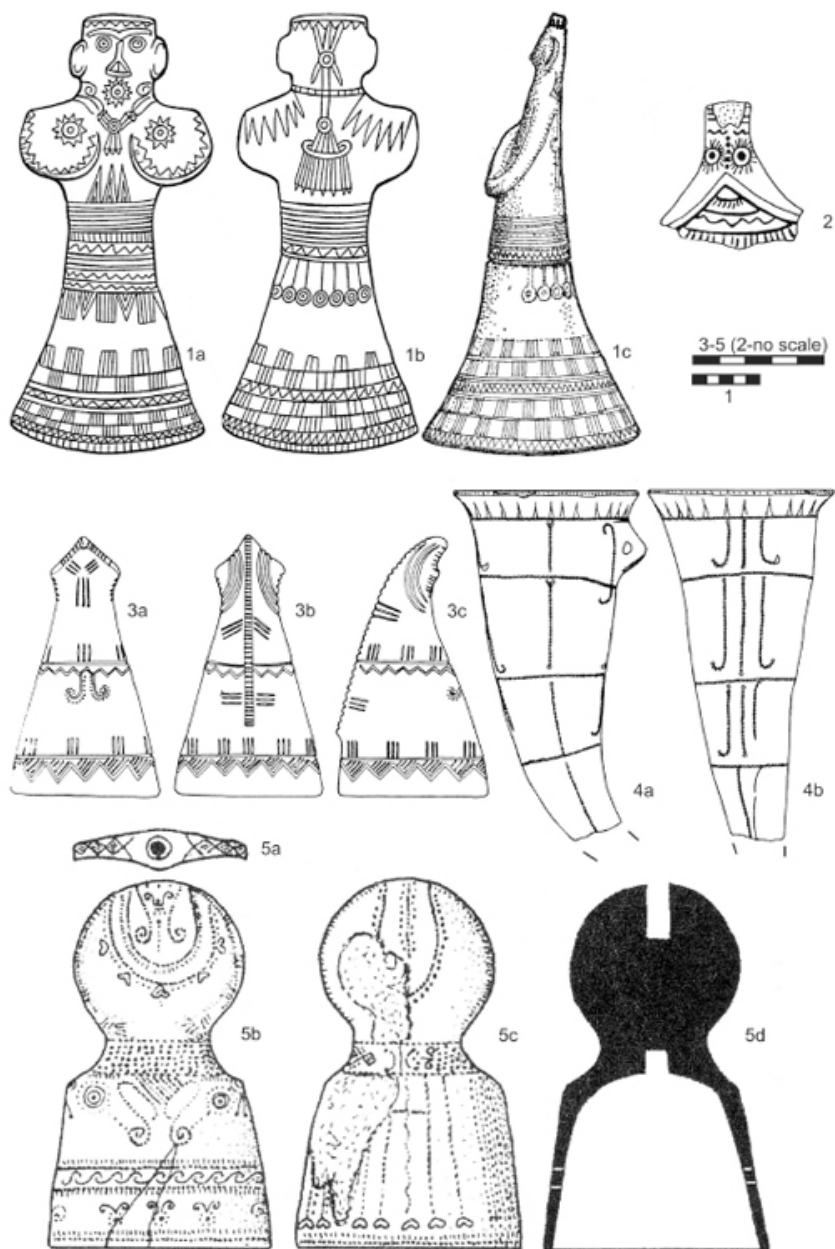


Fig. 8.3: Anthropomorphic figurines (1–3, 5) and rhyton (4): 1. Kličevac (a–b. after Hoernes 1925: fig. 2 on pl. 409; c. after Sandars 1968: pl. 66, B), 2. unprovenanced (after Shalganova 1995, fig. 4, 69); 3. Feudvar-“Stubarlija”, Grave 28 (adapted from Medović 1997: pl. 6), 4. Szeremle, Grave 19 (from Reich 2006: pl. 81, 1), 5. Cârna-“Ostrovogania”, Grave 57 (after Șandor-Chicideanu 2003: pl. 50, B, 6).

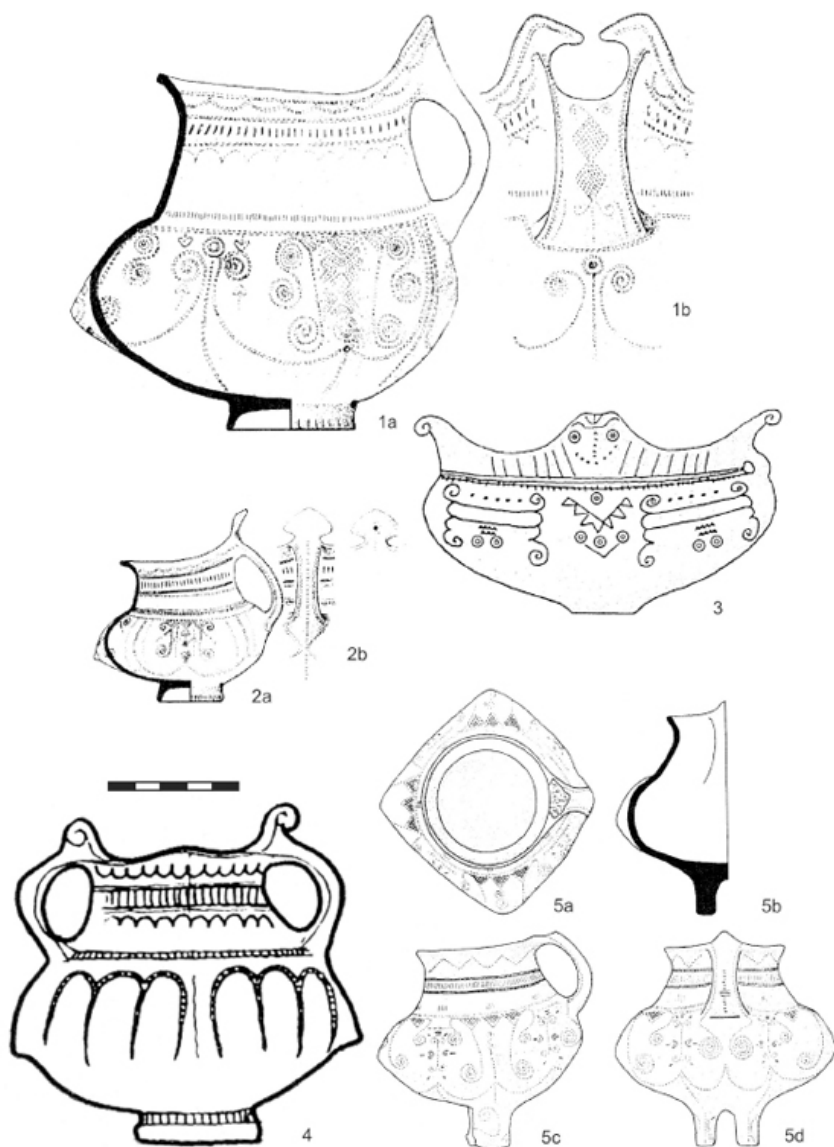


Fig. 8.4: Clay vessels with representations of human body parts: 1–2. Plosca-“Cabana de metal”, Graves 13 and 16; 3. Liubcova, Grave 9; 4. Cârna-‘Grindu Tomii’, Grave 30; 5. Cârna-‘Nasta’, Feature 1 (1–2, 5 from Șandor-Chicideanu 2003, pl. 72, 3a–b; 82, 4; 139, 1; 3. after Săcărin 1998, manuscript, reproduced in Șandor-Chicideanu 2003, pl. 186, 8; 4. adapted from Dumitrescu 1961: pl. 22, 30b).

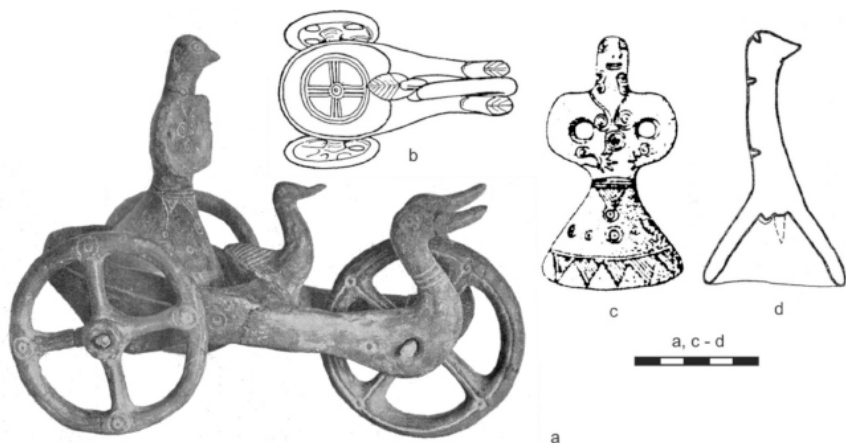


Fig. 8.5: The 'sun chariot' from Dupljaja, partially represented (a. after Petrović 1929–1930: pl. 9; b. d. after Sandars 1968: fig. 65, A and 66, A; c. after Müller-Karpe 1980: pl. 326, 11a).

It is likely that the (up to now only six known) headless clay figurines (Fig. 8.3/5) with the trunk perforated totally or partly (type Φ I A2 after Șandor-Chicideanu 2003: 103; pl. 50.6; 67.7; 96.1) had a head made of organic material, since no matching pieces of clay or other materials have been found. In these cases one cannot know whether the missing parts were made of *animals* or *plants*, but they most likely belonged to what we conceive today as nature.

There is also a marked association between the *human body and artefacts*. One of these is the form and material of the object itself. Of course, all ceramic figurines bear inherent similarities with ceramic vessels as they were made from the same materials, and often using the same kinds of technologies. One might, however, argue that the form of the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare figurines emphasises and plays on this link, since when they are turned upside-down, they adopt the form of a rhyton (compare for example Fig. 8.3/1, 3 and Fig. 8.5/d with Fig. 8.3/4).¹⁵ At the same time, the body contour of the T-type figurines (Chicideanu-Șandor and Chicideanu 1990: 56; Fig. 8.2; Schumacher-Matthäus 1985: pl. 1.1–2; 2.3)¹⁶ is very similar to that of a bronze 'anthropomorphic' pendant (Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1978: 109, nos 38–43). Similitude is at work also in the case of the Φ -type figurines, whose hands are positioned so as to liken them to bronze pendants (Blischke 2002: 79–83; fig. 24). Often parts of the human body are replaced by artefacts: all the figurines lack legs, and thus the upper half of the body is supported by the skirt (Fig. 8.2/2c; Fig. 8.3/5d; Fig. 8.6/5). We might also argue that the form of the figurines 'fuses' the flesh of the human body with the costume. Perhaps the most obvious case is that of the Φ -type figurines, where the breasts appear intimately linked to the skirt (Fig. 8.2).

Other kinds of object apart from the figurines are also made up by combining parts of the human body with objects. For instance, Sandars has identified human faces amongst the decorative motifs on the pottery, the most stylised variant of which is the well-known 'M'-motif (1968: 175 and fig. 67; here Figs 8.4/1a, 2a, 5c; Fig. 8.6/3a; Fig. 8.7/3; Fig. 8.8/1);¹⁷ and there is an example of one clay table (or tray?) which "stands on four legs (modelled rather in the shape of human than of animal legs)" (Dumitrescu 1961: 121; pl. 103.541 = pl. 109.541). Furthermore, a large number of clay vessels, mostly cups and mugs, have breast decoration (Fig. 8.4/1–2, 4–5)¹⁸ and, less frequently, legs (Fig. 8.4/5).

Some objects *join the spheres of artefact and animal*. In one example, a chariot and birds form a single body (Fig. 8.5/a–b), in another an object is made up of a vessel, boat and bird (Dumitrescu 1961: 121; pl. 103.540).¹⁹ Some vessels are shaped as birds (Fig. 8.6/1, 3), while others have handles with endings in the shape of snails (Fig. 8.4/4; see also, *e.g.*, Dumitrescu 1961: pl. 107.114, 208, 129, 151), horns (Şandor-Chicideanu 2003: pl. 104.M 34 b), or birds (Fig. 8.4/1b). One spoon bears the profile of a bird (Krstić 2003: pl. 20.8). Birds are shown wearing bronze necklaces on their chests (Reich 2005: 231–234; fig. 1–2; here Fig. 8.6/1–2) and sometimes also diadems on their heads (Fig. 8.6/1).

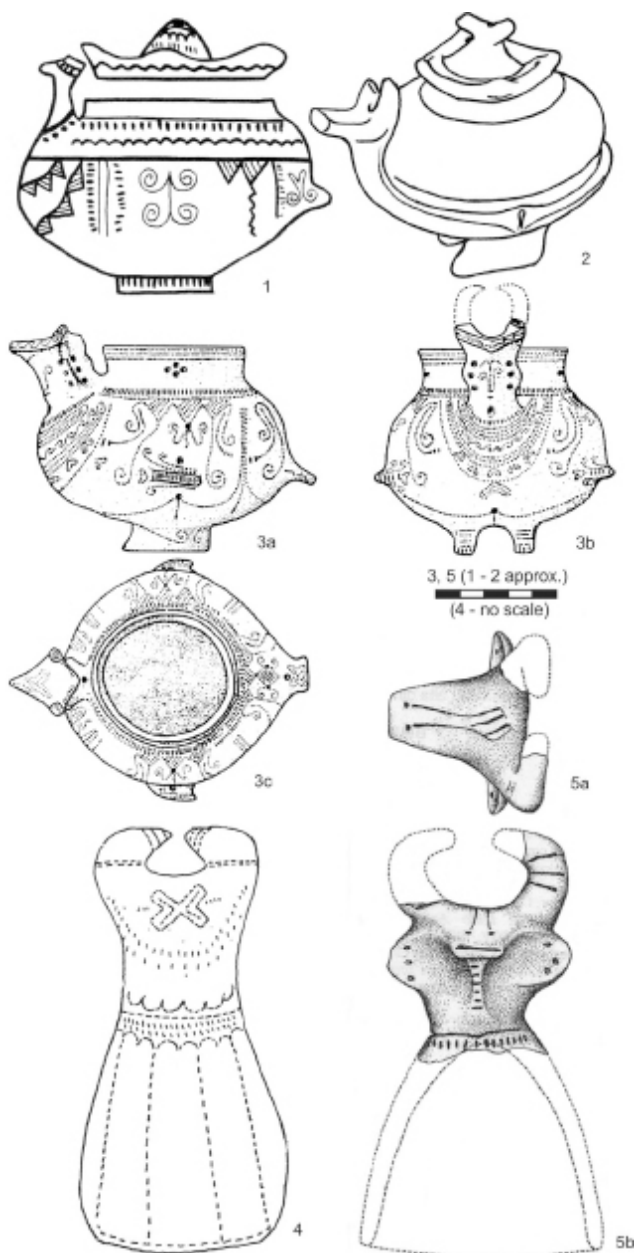


Fig. 8.6: Zoomorphic vessels (1–3) and figurines (4–5): 1–2. Orsoja, Grave 95 and Grave 227; 3. Cârna-‘Ostrovogania’, passim from cemetery; 4. Ostrovul Mare, passim; 5. Ostrovul Mare, passim from settlement (1. from Bonev 2000: fig. 2, 10, no. 158; 2. contour redrawn from Filipov 1976: pl. 69, b; decoration too unclear to reproduce; 3. after Șandor-Chicideanu 2003: pl. 151, 6; 4. after Chicideanu-Șandor and Chicideanu 1990: fig. 5.3; 5. after Crăciunescu, Para 2007).

Elements pertaining to *different kingdoms of nature* are combined on the piece in Figure 8.5/b, where a leaf motif is an integral part of the bill and body of the birds.

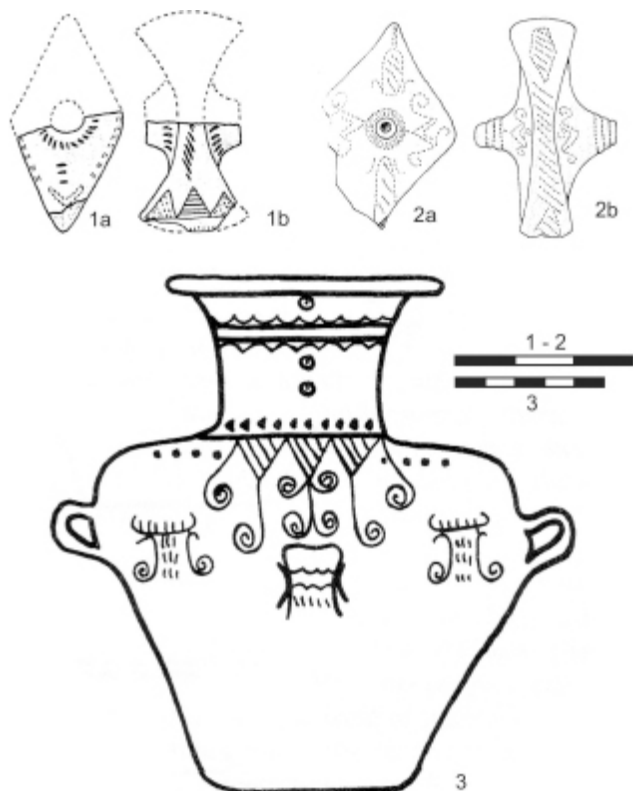


Fig. 8.7: Clay miniature axes (1–2) and amphora (3). 1. Bulgaria, unprovenanced; 2. Prahovo; 3. Orsoja (1. after Shalganova 1995: fig. 5, 80; 2. after Șandor-Chicideanu 2003: pl. 178, 5, who took it from Bonev; 3. after Bonev 2000: fig. 2.4, No. 64).

Many artefacts also *elude conventional distinctions between species*: for instance, we find some birds with horns (Fig. 8.6/3; see also discussion below), while others have heads of bulls/cows or rams (Fig. 8.6/2).

In other cases, *the categories of artefact are intermingled*. The body of a chariot from Dupljaja is similar to the shape of a ship (as noticed by Kaul 1998: 254). What from one side looks like a clay replica of a stone axe, from the other looks like a double axe (Shalganova 1995: fig. 5.82) or as a double axe embedded in a wheel (Fig. 8.7/1–2). On a more conceptual level, the vessel shape and decoration bring together pottery and textiles, for the *Stichkanaltechnik* is most probably inspired from needlework (Fig. 8.8).²⁰

A *celestial body* – the sun is represented in various forms – circles (dotted, rayed or concentric circles, circles formed of wreaths, star motifs, four-spoked wheels as on Figs 8.2/2; Fig. 8.3/1a, 2, 5b; Fig. 8.5/a–c; Fig. 8.7/1–2), spirals, and meanders (Fig. 8.2/1) – on most clay objects that are decorated.²¹ Sun motifs appear not only on objects, but also as objects. Spiral hand-guards (for bronze pieces see Schumacher-Matthäus 1985: pl. 61–62)

appear as decoration on vessels in Orsoja (Filipov 1976: 39; 108), and probably also in Cârna-‘Grindu Tomii’ (Dumitrescu 1961: pl. 77.245); and spectacle spirals (in bronze at Schumacher-Matthäus 1985: pl. 37.2) are seen as decoration on a mug in Orsoja (Filipov 1976: 45 left). Less certain is the representation of discoid pendants with rippled decoration (bronze examples at Schumacher-Matthäus 1985: 43.2; 55.1 *etc.*) on vessels as in Cârna-‘Grindu Tomii’ (Dumitrescu 1961: pl. 136.362).²² Sun motifs also appear as anatomical parts of humans (see above) and animals (*e.g.* as bird eyes at Orsoja: Bonev 2000: fig. 2.10.160, 162).

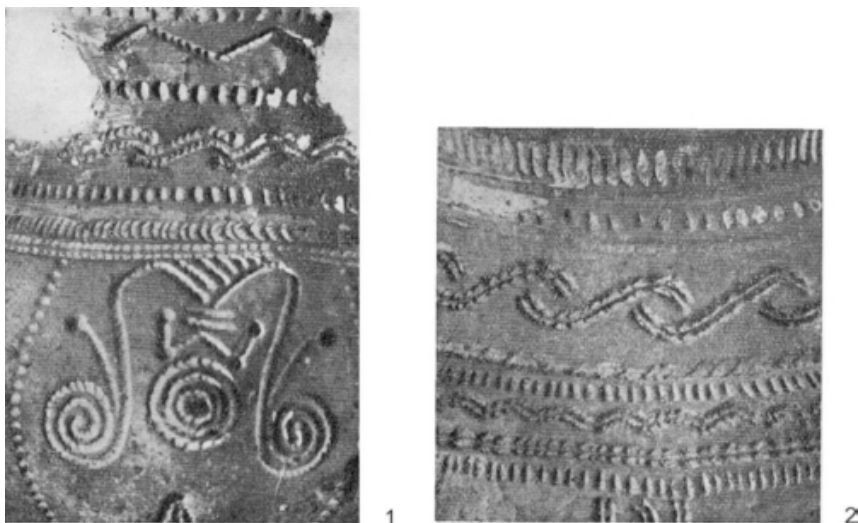


Fig. 8.8: Details from pottery decorated with ‘embroidery style’ (after Dumitrescu 1961: pl. 110, b–c).

If one agrees to include in the spheres of the concepts of nature and artefact not only the elements pertaining to iconography but also the materials used in manufacturing, this analysis can be carried on into *the depth of the ceramics*. Thus the fabric is made of clay containing mica (the origin of which – natural or intentionally added – is still uncertain), in most cases grits, and very often grog, more rarely chaff (Dumitrescu 1961: 27–126; Șandor-Chicideanu 2003: 91; Reich 2006: 27): illustrating the relationship between minerals, vegetation and artefacts, and between older artefacts and new as the former became incorporated into new ones.

The structure of the representation is never binary, and artefacts can demonstrate varying degrees of complexity. One of the most complex pieces is represented in Figure 8.6/3. Here, a bird’s bill is combined with the horns and ears of a bull/cow,²³ the motif of a human face appears on the neck²⁴ (or between the ears, depending on whether one considers the vessel from the profile or from the front), and a bronze necklace is found on the chest; another variant of the motif of the human face (the ‘M’-motif) is represented three times on the bird-like body that has a pair of human legs and is part of a vessel with white incrustation. If one also considers the fabric then there are even more elements combined on one ‘vessel’. This vessel epitomises what the Gârla Mare-Žuto Brdo ceramics show more widely – that the *boundaries* between human and non-human, animate and inanimate, nature and culture,

between species as well as between categories of objects as we conceive them are broken down. Hardly any of these bodies or objects are represented as we would do it today. No single body (human or non-human) is represented in its entirety: parts from one or more spheres of experience are frequently combined, and the *possible combinations* are endless. Sometimes the human element is emphasised more than the animal and the artefact, sometimes more the animal than the human and the artefact, or the artefact more than the human and the animal. *How can this particular anatomy be accounted for?* In the discussion that follows, I will explore some of the interpretations that have been made, and suggest two of my own.

Interpreting the Ceramics

The first attempt at understanding the Gârla Mare-Žuto Brdo anthropomorphic figurines (of type Φ, Ψ, T and kurotrophos²⁵) was made in terms of Aegean influence. First D. Berciu (Berciu and Comşa 1956: 474) then others noticed their close similarity in gestures and dress to Aegean figurines (Chicideanu-Şandor and Chicideanu 1990 with summary; most recently Kalogeropoulos 2007). This line of inquiry is worth pursuing – even if I shall not do this here – for not only is the number of elements similar to the Mycenaean-Minoan world larger than previously recognised, but these elements are part of the Gârla Mare-Žuto Brdo representations of the bodies. The most important of these are the bull, the snake, and – if one accepts a connection between the umbrella-wearing male figurine in the sun chariot from Dupljaja (Petrović 1929–1930: pl. 9–10, fig. 726) and the interpretation by Weber-Hiden of various representations of battle chariots with umbrellas as specific for Mycenaean soldiers (Weber-Hiden 2006)²⁷ – then also a warrior-related character. Most probably, the production of the Gârla Mare-Žuto Brdo ceramics is indebted to the context created in the Lower Danube region by the contacts with the Aegean world.

From the very beginning, the Φ-type figurines have been considered a child-protecting divinity or an agent for the mother of dead children (Chicideanu-Şandor and Chicideanu 1990: 70–74 with a summary of the various interpretations; see also Reich 2002: 167). While this is an interesting idea, it cannot account for figurines which appear in (albeit only a few) graves of somewhat older persons, nor for the male figurine from Dupljaja, nor – more importantly – for the many other types of artefacts with a similar iconographic composition.

A different interpretation was proposed by Flemming Kaul. Investigating the decoration of bronze razors, he reconstructed and discussed the myth of the daily journey of the sun, primarily in Northern Europe. He also argued that the same myth existed in other parts of Europe including in Greece where Apollo, a god of more northern origin, was thought to be carried by a swan-chariot (Kaul 1998). For the Lower Danube region Kaul's attention was caught in particular by the most famous of the two figurines from Dupljaja (Fig. 8.5): “the three wheeled chariot whose body almost has the shape of a ship”, decorated with solar motifs, and with ‘stems in the shape of aquatic birds’ (*ibid.*: 254), carrying a beaked figure. “This object can by a stretch of the imagination be taken to be a depiction of the above-mentioned myth about Apollo.” (*ibid.*). Kaul's hypothesis does not, however, account for all elements of the scene, which include (besides ‘solar motifs’) a wheeled chariot/ship, the beaked human body, the fused bodies of birds and chariot, and the birds with leaf decoration on their beaks and body. Moreover, solar motifs are present on many other artefacts which are harder to link with Kaul's sun-myth, such as pottery, furniture pieces, spoons, and the motif of the female breast (although one might of course try to use all of

these objects to reconstruct a local version of the myth).

More recently an interpretation of the Φ -type figurines was presented by Blischke (2002), who rejected Schumacher-Matthäus' (1985) claim that these figurines can inform us about Late Bronze Age costume. Blischke argues that the figurines do not represent human bodies and human clothing at all: no inhumation grave contains such richly adorned bodies as depicted on figurines; such sets of jewels are present only in hoards, and they are interpreted as gifts to gods. Consequently, he argues, the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare figurines depict a divinity (which he identifies with Hera). The cordiform pendants, which appear only in some post-adult female inhumation graves and in some children cremation graves (as depictions on figurines), were interpreted as markers of personal identity, as signs that the dead person had either fulfilled an ideal role connected to the divinity depicted by the figurines, or (in the case of children) was destined to do so (Blischke 2002: 79–90). Interesting as this interpretation might be, it denies any possible significance to the fact that the three types of context in which cordiform pendants appear are located in three different regions, and that two different burial rites – inhumation and cremation – are involved. He also offers no discussion of the iconographic correspondences between anthropomorphic and non-anthropomorphic representations.

Christine Reich drew attention to the link between anthropomorphic figurines with certain bird-like characteristics and ornithomorphic vessels bearing human elements and showed that, depending on the particular object considered, either the human or the bird element comes to the fore. On this basis she reconstructed the existence of a numinous being that she called 'Bird Human' (*Vogelmensch*) and 'Human Bird' (*Menschvogel*) (Reich 2005). Here again characteristics of the rest of the pottery yielding the same principles of composition are ignored.

All of these interpretations have in common the fact that they explain only a single object-type and exclude other types of objects with similar iconography. I believe that different, more inclusive comments can be made, if not about the exact function then about the kind of world-view that this material represents, and how this ties into the lived experience of these people. I shall present further two possible explanations, one that sees the body as unstable and difficult to define (both from the point of view of different beings as well as from the point of view of one and the same), and the other that sees the body as more stable, but only temporarily so. Both my interpretations present an animistic world-view as probable in the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare case.

One of these explanations can be sought in *perspectivism*. For the case under discussion, Amazonian perspectivism, with its concern with the mixture of the human and the non-human, is more relevant than the Melanesian perspectivism, which focuses on the mixture of male and female (Strathern 1988; Vilaça 2005: 453). According to recent western conception of the world, species are clearly defined and stable (at least over a certain duration) and the body is paramount in determining the capabilities of any living being: thus animals pertain to nature, while humans – ex-animals – pertain to culture.²⁸ Amazonians (Viveiros de Castro 1998; Vilaça 2005²⁹) see things the other way round: it is not that humans are ex-animals, but that animals are ex-humans. According to virtually all Amazonian cosmologies the original state was one of no differentiation between humans and animals. It was a world populated with beings with form, name and behaviour that mixed human and animal attributes; these beings were in a "state of intercommunicability identical to that which defines the present day intra-human world" (Viveiros de Castro 1998: 471). Humans continued to be as they have always been. Animals lost some of their initial attributes; they are ex-humans, but they continue to share with humans a "common

spiritual ‘essence’” (*ibid.*: 472). This is why every species continues to see itself as humans see themselves, a fact that can be apprehended only by “a carefully trained eye” (Vilaça 2005: 456). This is considered to be true of plants, natural phenomena and astronomical bodies (wind, moon), as well as of artefacts (arrows, baskets) or at least of some of them. “*Culture is the Subject’s nature*” (Viveiros de Castro 1998: 477; emphasis in the original), for all beings see themselves “in the form of culture” (*ibid.*: 470), *i.e.* as living in human houses and villages (*e.g.* tapirs see waterholes as ceremonial houses), they see food as human food (*e.g.* jaguars see blood as manioc beer), their bodies as human bodies (with fur, feathers, claws, beaks as body decoration or implements), *etc.* (*ibid.*). To distinguish between species is possible only from the perspective of another species. Here perspective refers literally to perception, to perceive is to *see*, not to understand in a particular way (Viveiros de Castro 1998: 470–1). Different species see differently because their bodies (*i.e.* body types) are different. Body types are defined primarily by their different affects, habits, capacities, by their different *habitus* (Viveiros de Castro 1998: 478); apart from spirits, they also have an outer form made of substances. In normal conditions this outer form is correlated with the *habitus*, but it is by its nature unstable since no “fixed determination of substances becomes possible” (Vilaça 2005: 457): a ‘thing’ is either manioc beer or blood, depending on who is looking. The general uncertainty over substances determines the general uncertainty over bodies. Bodies are threatened by metamorphoses; species are not fixed (Vilaça 2005: 459). Bodies have to be fabricated continuously if one is to remain a member of one’s own species. Altering the body is enabling it to see things differently, to have different effects and capacities. Hence to put on mask-clothing is “to activate the powers of another body. The animal clothes that shamans use to travel the cosmos are not fantasies but instruments; they are akin to diving equipment, or space suits, and not to carnival masks” (Viveiros de Castro 1998: 482). Based on one’s own perception one can never be sure of what kind of body one has. The same person can be predator (human) or prey (animal), depending on who is looking, and who is right cannot be established in advance since it depends on the outcome of a confrontation that is the struggle for life (Vilaça 2005: 458–9).

I considered this rather long summary necessary since it can help to interpret the most frequent traits of the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare ceramics. As I have already shown, something that is visible from one *perspective* either disappears or looks like something else from another. For example, on most of the cups and mugs the breasts are visible only from the profile, while seen from above they appear as mere corners of a slightly imperfect quadrangle (Fig. 8.4/5). What seen from one perspective is a human figurine from another turns out to be a rhyton (this applies not only to Fig. 8.3/1, 3 and Fig. 8.5/d but virtually to all anthropomorphic figurines seen in profile); or in case of the vessel in Figure 8.6/3, depending on the angle of the gaze, one can perceive more the bird than the bull/cow or more the bull/cow and less the bird. But even from the same angle, something might appear to be *ambiguous*, as in the case of ‘hands or horns?’ of the Ψ-type figurines (Fig. 8.6/4). Given the general uncertainty over the bodies (in Amazonian perspective) one sees a certain species depending on who the viewer is. The Amazonian concept of body could be also helpful for making sense of this peculiar Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare anatomy in another sense: *the assembling of bodily parts of various species and objects* can be interpreted as a way of enacting the powers of those particular body types, of humans, animals, plants or artefacts; powers considered either in the physical sense or as power to know, to grasp the world, to discover the true species of those one is looking at. Understandably one cannot be sure of what exactly the intended result was, but it is plausible that the depiction of breasts on a

woman's hips implied the idea of nurturing a strong, viable child; by depicting a human figure with a bird's bill and a chariot carried by birds the intended result was that of easy movement through spheres otherwise inaccessible to humans, *etc.* This way of thinking of the world does not necessarily entail animism (as the quotation from Don Quixote does not), but makes it very probable. But if one accepts *animism* as the way of understanding the world of these Late Bronze Age people,³⁰ then it becomes problematic to transfer even the earliest divinities known in Greece from written sources onto the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare, since by that time the separation between persons and things was drawn along different lines.

The general uncertainty over the bodies can be interpreted as showing that for one and the same viewer all bodies share common traits with the consequence that no clear delimitations between species and/or categories of objects are possible. Some beings are more human-like, others are more animal-like or thing-like. The lack of clear boundaries seems to be valid for gender as well: seen from the front the male (-like) figurine from Dupljaja is almost identical in dress and jewels with the female (-like) figurine from Cârna, Grave 28, while seen from the back the two look different (Schumacher-Matthäus 1985: 16; pl. 6). Both genders are richly decorated with jewels, but while some types of jewels are shared, others seem to be gender specific (*ibid.*: note 55; table 7).³¹ Genders can also turn into each other, as suggested by the placing of the breast on the hips. I write this having in mind ethnographically documented cases where the phallus is considered the male equivalent of the female breast since both are conceived of as organs of nutrition involved in the making of humanity (Strathern 1988: 210). It is probable that this equivalence is depicted on vessels contemporary with the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare ceramics from nearby regions (compare Palincaș 2007: pl. 60.1 and 60.4). In the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare case this could mean that the female body is reconfigured so as to turn it into male. The existence of a reciprocal transformation (from male to female) of the body is not possible to demonstrate (due probably also to the fact that only the figurine from Dupljaja is certainly male³²). This fuzziness and transformability of all that exists (of which the gendered body is an aspect) represented on the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare ceramics is more compatible with an animistic conception of the world than with ours, which clearly separates humans, animals and things (and genders).

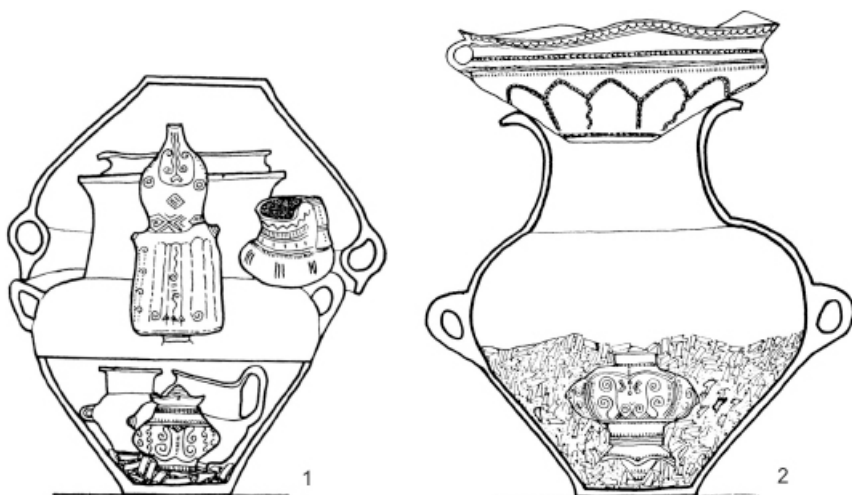


Fig. 8.9: Cârna-‘Grindu Tomii’. Reconstruction of 1. Grave 10 and of 2. Grave 60 (after Dumitrescu 1961: pl. 14, 10b and pl. 35, 60b).

If one accepts the interpretation (suggested at the beginning of this study) for the Φ -type figurines (Fig. 8.2) as representing a correspondence between the human body and the cosmos and, at the same time, considers the ceramic pieces as representing the manifold aspects of an entity, then a *second interpretation*, centred around the idea of the *course of life*, becomes possible. Unlike the first interpretation, this would see the bodies as temporarily stable, *i.e.* stable during their life on the surface of the earth.

It seems to me, in view of the analysis above, that it makes sense to say that the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare ceramics were produced with the intention of making visible, of drawing attention to the fact that no entity, no organism in the world is a closed, self-sufficient unit, that its existence is the product of many others *from the past* and depends on many others *from the present*. This conception differs from ours more than appears at first glance. It suggests that:

i. *Contemporary entities depend on each other* for their existence: for something to exist it needs to be entangled with other beings and things. This “relational constitution of being” (Ingold 2006: 12–14) is represented in my opinion on/through all the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare ceramics and funerary remains, not only on/through the Φ -type figurines. For the latter are not, in my opinion, mere representations of dressed up human bodies, but representations of the interdependency between humans and artefacts such as clothing and jewels. Humans need artefacts to be able to live and be human (a sign of which is that these figurines need the dress to be able to stand), while from another perspective, artefacts need humans to be brought into being, to be functional, to exist. The two cannot be disentangled. The dissolution of these relationships is possible only in death, and is operated by cremation, *i.e.* by the interaction between human beings and that part of the sun that is the fire. The human body is not simply interred naked;³³ this would preserve the anatomical connection of the skeleton, for bone preservation is very good on the Lower Danube. What is put in the ground is not a human body any more, not as we know it from its existence above the surface of the earth; its anatomy is reconfigured: it is broken down, by cremation, and by the dislocation of the breasts.³⁴ In their new state, in the grave, the human bones are never

alone (Fig. 8.9): they are in most cases laid into artefacts (urns) and more rarely near them (various types of vessels, figurines), sometimes mixed with artefacts (figurines, vessels) and elements of (our) nature (animal bones, bird bones, snails), and covered with artefacts (other vessels) (for a typology of the graves according to the position of the cremated bones see Șandor-Chicideanu 2003: 163–8).

ii. *All states are temporary.* But again there is likely to be a major difference between these Late Bronze Age people and us in the understanding of this statement. For us the existence of a person or a thing begins with birth or manufacturing and ends with death or breakage or disintegration; before and after these two moments the person or the thing does not exist. The people who produced and used the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare ceramics conceived of persons and things much like Hamlet did while thinking of the fish, the worm and the king: not forgetting their origin, their past that is also their foreseeable future. A particular state of a being or thing lasts for a while and then he/she/it turns into something else, more precisely into several other persons or/and things (and this might well be the reason why the body is turned into pieces by cremation); every entity that comes into being originates in various other entities, retains parts of them, and will eventually bring about other entities. Thus, it seems to me plausible that these Late Bronze Age people saw in a vessel not only the vessel as we do (see the numerous typologies of the vessels one can find in almost every book of archaeology in continental Europe and elsewhere), but also the clay, the water, the rock and the already ‘dead’ vessels (and/or figurines?) that were needed for the constitution of the substance of the body of the new vessel, the substance (bones) of the already dead creatures³⁵ that was incorporated into the paste used for decoration, the producer that it needed to come into being, the generative power of the sun that through fire made possible the transformations that endowed – for a while – the vessel with a certain shape. These aspects may all have been essential. Interestingly, most transformations seem to involve human lives (only rarely are species represented as if turning into each other, and the same happens with objects). Humans seem to have a particular position in the universe as shown by the fact that only their ‘body’ is structured so as to cover the whole world one can see (what is in the air, what is on the earth, and what is in the earth).

These two axes along which the various transformations of an existing entity can be analysed is only a product of this analysis. Since the states of things are created in the course of interaction with contemporary beings/things, they are under continuous change, so that the past cannot be rigidly separated from the present, nor can the present be rigidly separated from the future; changes are too complex, incessant and take place too quickly for such a separation to be of any practical value. To go back to the example above, a vessel exists due to the contribution of various other elements, but it also contributes to the generation of others; and while it does so, the same thing is done by all its constitutive elements. What the producers and users of the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare ceramics strove to make visible was “the dynamic, transformative potential of the entire field of relations within which beings of all kinds, more or less person-like or thing-like, continually and reciprocally bring one another into existence” (Ingold 2006: 10). For them, as for the Cree hunters from north-eastern Canada quoted by Ingold, life “is continuous birth” (Scott 1989: 195; cited in Ingold 2000: 51). The *Weltanschauung* of the Late Bronze Age people on the Lower Danube was most probably similar: one that we would probably today term *animistic* (Ingold 2000 and 2006).

For many of us, if this is not sterile philosophy it is at least weird. We live in the world of “fetishism of commodity”, i.e. a world where wares simply appear in the world, as through their own will, not through a process of production (Marx 1993: 31). In this world

of mass production the good ware is one that closely matches an abstract image of it; traces of human activity are seen as imperfection, as 'defect'. The good ware "should look as though it had never been *made*" (Adorno quoted in Benjamin 1999: 670). The good ware has not been used before selling, otherwise it is 'second-hand'. Production of goods and their discard is depersonalised. If we buy a pair of denim jeans, for instance, we find it on a shelf, we pay a cashier who has no personal relationship with the jeans, and it might be another person if we went to the shop a couple of hours earlier or later. Recently the process of depersonalisation has advanced even more as we can buy goods on the Internet. Further, the jeans do not belong to the cashier but to the shop owner; they were brought to the shop by various persons and by various means of transportation; they were produced by so many persons that the workers themselves would not recognise the pairs they worked on. Under these circumstances it is no wonder that no-one would think of the contribution of the farmer who produced the cotton, of the cotton, of the sun, the earth and the water *etc.* that a pair of denim jeans incorporates. But all these elements are part of the jeans, of course, as they are part of the social settings in which they are worn. One might argue that an economist would consider most of these elements, except the sun; that an ecologist would consider the sun and the rainwater as well; that a sociologist would consider the social context of the wearing of the jeans. But what hardly any of us would notice is what Kitty Hauser did: she drew attention to the fact that the hand movements of the sewer in the factory and the specific movements of the wearer conveyed uniqueness to denim jeans, "the mass produced garment *par excellence* of the modern world" (2004: 309).³⁶ More interestingly, the signs left behind by the sewer were revealed through wear, through the action of the wearer on his jeans over time (*ibid.*). These signs are not mere result of labour or physical movement, they are signs of human identity; further, this particular pair of jeans changed the course of life of the bank robber, to the capture of whom it fundamentally contributed. This extraordinary case is relevant to this study precisely because it shows that the most common of mass garments has inbuilt a sort of hidden uniqueness that is the outcome of the intertwining of very different elements (such as cotton cloth, dye, technology and human identity, touch and movement), and that the perception of this uniqueness "ultimately depends upon nothing more than ordinary vision" (*ibid.* 298). In other words, on the most common of things much more is visible than our minds are trained to notice.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have begun to explore how the iconography of the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare ceramic material might reflect the world-view of the people who produced and used it. It seems plausible to me that these Late Bronze Age people saw in a vessel not only the vessel as we do, but also other aspects of their world. In this perspective, the Late Bronze Age incrustated ceramics that I discuss were produced with the aim of *educating the attention* (Gibson 1979: 254, cited in Ingold 2000: 22). Many of the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare artefacts are not as complicated as those I used for my analysis, but all of them are built on the same principles: even the most plain vessel is made of clay, grog or grits, and mica. The more complex the artefact, the more visible is the *meshwork* that constitutes an organism (Ingold 2006: 13). And if we agree that art "does not reproduce the visible but makes visible" (Klee 1961, p. 76, cited in Ingold 2006, p. 12), then *those complex artefacts* I analysed above are art objects (*pace* Șandor-Chicideanu 2003: 106). They are so in the wide sense of the word since they are used in various spheres, in settlements as well as in cemeteries, "in

institutions that are not specialized art institutions as such, but institutions of more general scope; for example, cults, exchange systems, *etc.*” (Gell 1998: 8), and they draw attention to the relational constitution of being and the incessant becoming of the world.³⁷ *In this way, the dislocation and moving-around of parts within and between clay bodies can be seen to reflect fluidity and inter-connectedness of bodies on a much larger scale.*

	Cârna- ‘Grîndu Tomii’	Oroşoja	Korbovo- ‘Glamija’	Plocea- ‘Cabana de metal’	Cârna- ‘Ostrovo- gania’	Cârna- ‘Rampă’	Ostrovu Corbului- ‘Cliuciului’
Total number of vessels	438	153	165	144	206	143	152 (+ 4 with applied strip)
Total number of decorated vessels	353	115	56	115	164	115	71 (+ 11 with applied strips)
Face motif 1	4	2	-	-	1	1	-
Face motif ‘M’	81	8	6	33	31	4	-
Beast motif	67	7	6	35	28	7	7
Bird (bull)	9	8	7	4	2	3	-
Horns	1	1	-	2	2	1	-
Snake motif	1	-	3	4	2	1	-
Snail motif	6	1	-	2	2	1	1
Various small motifs	209	79	46	74	103	45	30
Representations of bronze pendants/collars	6	5	-	-	1	2	1
Representations of bronze arm rings	1	6	1?	-	-	-	-
Representations of bronze discoid rippled pendants	1	-	-	-	-	-	1?
Indeterminable motifs	11	15	20	12	18	3	15

Table 8.1: Occurrence of vessels with the most frequently discussed decorative motifs in larger Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare sites (Stray finds were not included although they are very numerous. The well-known sites from Kličevac, Žuto Brdo, Dubovac are missing from the table, since the vast majority of the material is presently lost).

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This table is intended only to give a very general image of the frequency of the vessels bearing those motifs (ornithomorphic vessels were included; figurines – of any kind – were not). In judging it, once should keep in mind that the latter two sites (Cârna-‘Rampă’ and Ostrovu Corbului-‘Cliuciului’) are settlements, *i.e.* the degree of fragmentation of the pottery is much higher than in a cemetery, and that the total number of decorated vessels includes even the smallest fragments, even when the decorative motif could not be determined. The latter is not the same with ‘indeterminable motifs’, which refers only to those motifs to which no meaning could be attached. ‘Face motif 1’ is the same as that on the face of the figurine illustrated here in Figure 8.2/1. Each vessel has been counted once, irrespective of how many times a motif is represented on it. The table gives only a

minimum number of vessels on which those motifs appear, and their number is highly dependent on the (for the aims of this study mostly poor) quality of the illustration – *e.g.* the motif related to the bronze discoid rippled pendant is usually represented on the bottom of the vessels, that in turn is usually not illustrated. (Observations are based on the following publications: Dumitrescu 1961 for Cârna-‘Grindu Tomii’; Filipov 1976 and Bonev 2000 for Orsoja; Krstić 2003 for Korbovo-‘Glamija’; Șandor-Chicideanu 2003: pl. 1–131 for Plosca-‘Cabana de metal’, Cârna-‘Ostrovogania’, and Cârna-‘Rampă’, and Hänsel and Roman 1984 for Ostrovu Corbului-‘Cluciului’).

Notes

- 1 Other names are ‘Bjelo Brdo-Gârla Mare’, ‘Dubovac-Žuto Brdo’, and ‘Lower Danube Encrusted pottery’.
- 2 M. Șandor-Chicideanu calculated that in three cemeteries situated on the banks of the Bistreț Lake (Cârna-‘Grindu Tomii’, Plosca-‘Cabana de metal’ and Cârna-‘Ostrovogania’) decoration appears on approx. 42–71 percent of the amphorae, 22–42 percent of the kantharos-pots, 4–21 percent of the cups and mugs, 12–22 percent of the bowl and almost always on pyxides (2003: 95–6).
- 3 One sample with paste made of animal bones was analysed by S. Lupan and E. Zamfirescu and published by Dumitrescu as confirming the earlier statement by Wosinsky; the latter is unfortunately not cited and I was unable to trace it (Dumitrescu 1961: 160–1). The use of mammal bones for the production of the paste used for inlay has recently been documented in the case of the encrusted pottery from the Middle Danube region dated to the Middle Bronze Age (2000–1500 BC) and stylistically related to the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare ceramics (Roberts *et al.* 2007).
- 4 Exceptionally there are graves which lack any trace of bone: *e.g.* Cârna-‘Grindu Tomii’, Grave 2 (Dumitrescu 1961: 28).
- 5 **Bronze objects:** hair rings as in Cârna-‘Grindu Tomii’ (Dumitrescu 1961: 280), Cârna-‘Ostrovogania’ (Șandor-Chicideanu 2003: 146) and Gruia (Crăciunescu 1998: pl. 15.3), thin bracelets, knives as in several graves from Cârna-‘Grindu Tomii’ (Dumitrescu 1961: 280–281) and in Orsoja (Cernyh 1978: pl. 63.12, 14), saltaleoni as in Cârna-‘Ostrovogania’ and Plosca-‘Cabana de metal’ (Șandor-Chicideanu 2003: 145) and in Gruia (Crăciunescu 1998: pl. 15.21, 23), bronze buttons as in Gruia (*op. cit.*: pl. 15.2–17), undeterminable small fragments in several graves (Dumitrescu 1961: 280–281). Surprisingly, neither hair rings nor bracelets are represented on the anthropomorphic figurines as Schumacher-Matthäus noticed (1985: 23). **Bone objects:** *e.g.* one burnt pendant made of a rodent tooth was found in Cârna-‘Grindu Tomii’, Grave 79 (Dumitrescu 1961: 281) and two fragmentary, decorated pins in Korbovo-‘Glamija’, Grave 3 (Krstić 2003: 148; pl. 3.11–12). **Flint tools:** Korbovo-‘Glamija’, Grave 10 contains two fragments of blades (Krstić 2003: 8, 10). **Mammal bones:** for example pig bone in ten of the 19 graves from Dubovac (B. Milleker 1906: 39–42), dog, ox, stag, mole and other bones in Cârna-‘Grindu Tomii’, Graves 79, 80, 85, 99, 110 (Dumitrescu 1961: 373–7). **Bird bones** as in Korbovo-‘Glamija’, Graves 3, 7 and 24 (Krstić 2003: 137). **Snails** as in Cârna, Grave 5, 27, 96 (Dumitrescu 1961: pl. 12.5; 21.27b; 99.96b). **Decomposed organic material:** in the cemetery Korbovo-‘Glamija’ in several vessels (Krstić 2003: 137).
- 6 The current spelling is *Cârna*, but many specialist works use the older spelling (prior to 1991) *Cîrna*. In the meantime the name of the village has been changed to Dunăreni.
- 7 In her analysis of the Szeremle incrusted pottery, of which only the late phase is considered to overlap with the Gârla Mare pottery, Reich identified no less than approx. 2500 decorative motifs (2006: 104).
- 8 Grave 24 contained the cremated remains of a male adult and of a young individual. The grave has the richest inventory in the cemetery: three urns, 24 clay vessels, one anthropomorphic figurine and one bird-like rattle. The inventory is distributed on two levels in the grave, the anthropomorphic and ornithomorphic figurines having been found at the level of the rim of one of the urns containing the remains of the adult male; the young individual was placed in a smaller vessel found between two urns containing the cremated remains of the male (Krstić 2003: 136).

- 9 Grave 31A from the cemetery at Plosca contained three anthropomorphic figurines. The fact that both the quantity and the dimensions of the cremated bones were too large for the remains of a child made Șandor-Chicideanu believe that the grave belonged to an adult; no anthropological analysis has been carried out so far (2003: 111).
- 10 It has long been noticed that whatever the type of the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare anthropomorphic figurines, their chest is either flat or hollow. This has been interpreted as the intention of not representing the breasts that are, in most cases, replaced by sun motifs (small circles, rayed circles, dotted circles *etc.*). There are only two exceptions to this rule that I know of (with the breasts represented as small protrusions on the chest): one was unfortunately published without any data at all (Chicideanu 1995: pl. K.III), the other one stems from Glamija (Letica 1973: pl. 4.1).
- 11 That the missing of the legs deserves interpretation and that the skirt was intentionally represented as taking over the function of the legs is shown by the fact that no Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare anthropomorphic figurine is ever represented otherwise than standing, *i.e.* in a position that would depend less on the legs.
- 12 Dumitrescu noticed that the head of the snake on the figurines from the cemetery at Cârna is always on the left end of the belt (1961: 266; pl. 162).
- 13 The possibility of recognising the use of perspectivism depends in most cases on the quality of the illustration. Probably the best example is that of the vessels that seen from above looks like boats; their identification depends invariably on description, since no one I know of was ever published seen from above (*e.g.*, Dumitrescu 1961: 121 and pl. 103.540).
- 14 This bull headed figurine in Fig. 8.6/5 (a chance find from the area of a settlement that is today covered by a wood; Crăciunescu, Para 2007: 63–64), is interesting not only for the complex way in which it blurs the limits between the human and the animal body, but also for the fact that it blurs the previously clear boundaries between the so-called Φ -type and Ψ -type figurines.
- 15 The rhyton in Fig. 8.3/4 stems from Szeremle, *i.e.* from the Middle Danube region, and it was reproduced here because it is almost complete, but there are fragmentary examples from the Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare area as in the case in the settlement from Cârna-‘Rampă’ (Șandor-Chicideanu 2003: pl. 127.8).
- 16 Note the unnaturally short arms without which the similarity with the bronze pendants (belonging to the hoards of stage Băleni, *i.e.* Reinecke Br D) would not exist.
- 17 One bowl in Cârna-‘Ostrovogania’, Grave 47, bears a decorative motif consisting of a rectangle with four spirals at each of its corners and a circle surrounded with dots between the two upper spirals (Șandor-Chicideanu 2003: pl. 40.B.2a). Judging by its similarity with the motif on a vessel from Cârcea (Palincaș 2007: 235; pl. 60.4), this can be identified as a motif of the human body.
- 18 Interestingly Dumitrescu noticed that the protrusions on the pottery ‘appear in the profile like nipples, especially when they are surrounded by circles made by pricks’ (1961: 147), but neither he nor any other author paid any attention to this remark. The possibility of noticing the breasts depends on illustration: a correct drawing needs two profiles of the vessel (like those made by Șandor-Chicideanu (2003: *passim*, of which some are reproduced here in Fig. 8.4/1–2, 5), otherwise the breasts are not visible (like in Dumitrescu 1961: pl. 109.15, 216, 512; and *passim*, or here in Fig. 8.4/4).
- 19 Dumitrescu illustrates only a side view of this vessel, which he describes as ‘Fragmentary vessel in shape of a bird; the body is elongated and open like a boat at its upper part, bearing a kind of a stem modelled in the shape of a bird’s head’ (1961: 121). I was unable to find the vessel.
- 20 For further examples where the surface of the pottery looks like a piece of cloth with embroidery: Dumitrescu 1961: pl. 110.b–c, e; 112.a, c–e. Though N. Sandars failed to notice the possible relationship between *Stichkanaltechnik* and needlework, she noticed that ‘About three quarters of the five hundred pots found in a hundred and sixteen graves at Cârna are decorated in what could be called the “embroidered style”’ (1968: 170); her very short but most useful analysis of the Cârna-Bjelo brdo (*i.e.* Cârna-Žuto Brdo) ceramics (*ibid.* 170, 173–176) has unfortunately been ignored by almost all the authors writing on the topic.
- 21 For an overview of the sun motifs in Europe and discussion about why circles, spirals *etc.* are considered such motifs see Green (1991).
- 22 The fact that they are more than ‘mere’ sun symbols is shown by the similarity with the bronze

- pieces as well as by the rarity of these representations (Table 8.1).
- 23 Reich saw this vessel as representing a horned bird (2005: 234). Compared with the then unknown bull/cow headed figurine (Fig. 8.6/5), the head of the ornithomorphic vessel, seen from the front, has common traits with that of the bull/cow head: two horns, the same shape of the ears, even the same number and positioning of the perforations of the ears.
 - 24 The same motif that frequently appears on the faces of the anthropomorphic figurines (*e.g.* here in Fig. 8.2/1a; see also Sandars 1968: fig. 67.B–C, E–F).
 - 25 Of the four types of Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare anthropomorphic statuettes, there is one – the kurotrophos type – left outside this discussion, because only a fragment is known until now (Chicideanu-Şandor and Chicideanu 1990: 59; fig. 2.A).
 - 26 The ‘umbrella’ was not included here in Fig. 8.5, but see the holes for its attachment on the back and head of this otherwise until now unique male Žuto Brdo-Gârla Mare figurine.
 - 27 A list of the various representations of battle chariots with umbrellas (in clay, painted on vessels, and on the relief depicting the battle from Kadesh) can be found in Weber-Hiden; the clay figurines are known from LH III A – LH III C (most come from LH III B) in the Argolis and the eastern Aegean islands (Weber-Hiden 2006).
 - 28 However, at a closer analysis this clear distinction turned out to be problematic as numerous studies in evolution of human cognition (*e.g.* Foley 1991) and in philosophy (*e.g.* Hornborg 2006) have shown.
 - 29 This summary of the Amazonian *Weltanschauung* is based on both the works of Viveiros de Castro 1998 and Vilaça 2005. From an extensive literature, I chose them for they are more recent. Since the two works are rather similar in topic and conception and many of the ideas and examples are common, I make direct reference to the individual authors only when I use a particular wording or a specific idea.
 - 30 The existence of an animic *Weltanschauung* in Greece before the Protogeometric period was argued for by Lucy Goodison (1989: especially 123–125), but I am not aware of any further debates in the Balkans on this matter.
 - 31 These observations on the costume I took over from Schumacher-Matthäus but gave them a different interpretation. She didn’t question the existence of a clear delimitation between genders and much of her endeavour was directed towards the identification of gender differences in costume and jewellery.
 - 32 Schumacher-Matthäus considers the figurine from Kličevac to be male as well, on the basis of the costume and jewellery set (1985: 15).
 - 33 Fortunately for archaeologists, for the logic of the argument it is not necessary to prove this. At the same time, from the bronze or bone jewellery found in the graves and the green colouring of some of the bones, we know that at least some of the bodies were wearing at least some ornaments when they were put on the pyre (*e.g.* Dumitrescu 1961: 281; Krstić 2003: 137).
 - 34 Unfortunately there is no anthropological analysis that I know of that considers the position of the bones in the urns, so we cannot know whether, for instance, the relocation of the breasts on the figurines corresponds to a relocation in the order of the skeleton (*i.e.* relocation of the chest/ corresponding part of the backbone).
 - 35 Or, in other cases, the substance of the rock (the limestone) used for the production of the inlay paste.
 - 36 With this article K. Hauser won the ‘*Journal of Material Culture* Alfred Gell essay competition’ in 2004 (see *Journal of Material Culture* 2004, 3: contents).
 - 37 The strong association between children’s graves and anthropomorphic figurines is probably explained by the fact that the recalling of this vision of the world is most needed in the state of crisis that is engendered by the death of a child. For even if such figurines appear in graves belonging to somewhat older persons none of them appeared till now in graves of mature or old people, so they might be associated with the death of those too young to die.

It has been long noticed that while almost all figurines stem from children’s graves, not all children’s graves have figurines, and that some of the child graves have grave goods that otherwise exist only in male graves, the latter being generally richer than the graves belonging to women. This was interpreted as reflecting a patriarchal and stratified society (Hachmann 1968: 369;

Chicideanu 1986: 20–1; 28; Shalganova 1995: 304; Reich 2002: 162; Krstić 2003: 135–40). The interpretation I suggested in this article does not rule out these ideas in principle (though I suspect that archaeologists were too keen to see patriarchy everywhere in the Bronze Age at least). At the same time I do not think that there is enough support for them in the archaeological evidence. However, an interpretation based on ‘rich grave – poor grave’ has first to tackle the complicated problem of variance in ritual (Rappaport 1999: 329–30).

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9. Porticos, pillars and severed heads: the display and curation of human remains in the southern French Iron Age

Ian Armit

‘Among no other people, it would seem, does one find such an infatuation with the motif of the head.’

(Lambrechts 1954: 20)

The Iron Age in Europe has produced a wealth of evidence for the removal, curation, display and representation of the human head (Armit 2006). Much of it derives from acts of interpersonal violence, although predatory headhunting cannot account for it all. Nevertheless, for the purposes of this paper I will use the term ‘headhunting’ as shorthand. Archaeological material relevant to this issue can be found across virtually the whole of Europe and is by no means restricted to the Iron Age: a much fuller treatment of the subject will appear shortly (Armit forthcoming). In the meantime, I want to focus on a few related groups of material from the Iron Age of southern France, in order to develop some initial ideas about the role of headhunting within wider social practice in the European Iron Age.

In the context of the present volume, what is perhaps most intriguing about this case study is the overwhelming preponderance of heads. Both in terms of the iconography, and the osteological evidence, the head seems to have been privileged above all other parts of the human body and fetishised to the virtual exclusion of other corporeal elements. This is by no means the case for the whole of Iron Age Europe. In the Iron Age of Atlantic Scotland, for example, although cranial remains are numerically dominant, we see a wide range of depositional practices relating to complete or fragmented human bodies, sometimes in association with animals (Armit and Ginn 2007). Further south in Britain, the same rather heterogeneous picture applies. Certain sites, for example, display a concern with left/right divisions of the body with no particular focus on the head (Webley, Timby and Wilson 2007), while, in other areas, cranial fragments predominate (*e.g.* Cunnington 1923). Nowhere, however, do we see the sustained focus on the head that we seem to find in southern France.

Cults of the head

Traditionally, Iron Age headhunting has been viewed largely in terms of the supposed Celtic ‘cult of the head’. Although the origins of this concept lay in the early part of the 20th century (*e.g.* Reinach 1913) it was first formalised by Pierre Lambrechts, for whom the

human head was the principal religious symbol, and ‘*motif national*’, of the ancient Celts (1954: 20). The idea was subsequently developed, primarily in a British context, by the Celtic scholar Anne Ross, drawing on a range of primarily textual and iconographic sources (e.g. 1958, 1967). For Ross, veneration of the head lay at the centre of Celtic religious life from prehistory to recent times (1962).

This belief in a Celtic ‘cult of the head’ drew on several strands of evidence, but most fundamental were the numerous literary references scattered amongst the works of a variety of classical authors. Fig. 9.1 shows the principal classical literary mentions of Celtic headhunting (broadly defined), which collectively portray events from the early 4th century BC to the 1st century BC. Among the most commonly cited is that of the Greek geographer Strabo, who provides an unusually detailed description of Gaulish headhunting. Although writing in the early 1st century AD, Strabo drew on the lost works of his predecessor, the Stoic philosopher Poseidonius, who had encountered the Celts of southern Gaul at first hand some time around the 90s AD (Kidd 1988). Strabo recounts that:

‘in addition to their witlessness they [the Celts/Gauls] possess a trait of barbarous savagery which is especially peculiar to the northern peoples, for when they are leaving the battlefield they fasten to the necks of their horses the heads of their enemies, and on arriving home they nail up this spectacle at the entrances to their houses. Poseidonius says that he saw this sight in many places, and was at first disgusted by it, but afterwards, becoming used to it, could bear it with equanimity. But they embalmed the heads of distinguished enemies with cedar-oil, and used to make a display of them to strangers, and were unwilling to let them be redeemed even for their weight in gold. The Romans have put an end to these customs and also to their sacrificial and divinatory practices opposed to our customs.’

(Strabo *Geographia*, 4.4.5, in Tierney 1960)

4th Century BC	Location	Principal source
387 BC Battle of Allia decapitation of the Roman dead	Central Italy	Diodorus Siculus (mid 1st century BC)
3rd Century BC		
295 Battle of Clusium collection of trophy heads	Northern Italy	Livy (late 1st century BC)
279 Celtic invasion of Macedonia decapitation of Ptolemy Ceraunus	Macedonia	Justinus (3rd century AD)
225 Battle of Telamon decapitation of Gaius	Northern Italy	Polybius (mid 2nd century BC)
218 Defection of Celts to Hannibal decapitation of former Roman allies	Northern Italy	Polybius (mid 2nd century BC)
218 Battle of Ticinus decapitation of Quirinius	Northern Italy	Silius Italicus (late 1st century AD)
216 Ambush by Boii decapitation of Postumius	Northern Italy	Livy (late 1st century BC)
2nd Century BC		
190 Campaign against Tolistobogii decapitation ordered by Chiomara	Asia Minor	Polybius (mid 2nd century BC)
114 Thracian War skulls used as cups by the Scordisci	Northern Greece-Croatia	Florus (mid 2nd century AD)
1st Century BC		
90s BC Poseidonius in Gaul display of heads by Gauls	Southern France	Diodorus Siculus (mid 1st century BC) & Strabo (early 1st century AD)

Fig. 9.1: The principal classical sources for Celtic/Gaulish headhunting, excluding some of the more obviously derivative sources (Marcellinus, Paulus Orosius etc.). The column on the left gives the date of the event(s) that each account purports to describe, while the column on the right indicates the date when it was written.

4th BC	3rd BC	2nd BC	1st BC		1st AD	2nd AD	3rd AD
■-----	■■■■■	■-----■	■				
		—	—		—	—	—

Fig. 9.2: The top row indicates schematically the chronology of the various headhunting episodes described in the classical texts, while the bottom row indicates the broad periods during which the texts themselves were written.

The same account appears, with variations in emphasis, in the works of another Poseidonian copyist, Diodorus Siculus, writing in the mid-1st century BC (*Bibliotheca Historica*, 5.29.5, in Oldfather 1954). Together they provide what is probably the most reliable description of (near-) contemporary practice.

Perhaps the earliest surviving literary source, however, is Polybius, writing in the mid-2nd century BC. His *Histories* detail several accounts of Celtic head-taking, including the following description of a mutiny by a group of Celts attached to the Roman army during Hannibal's advance into northern Italy in 218 BC:

'the Celts ... fell upon the Romans who were encamped nearest to them. They killed or wounded many, and finally, cutting off the heads of the slain, went over to the Carthaginians ...'

(Polybius *Histories*, 3.67, in Paton 1922)

Like Poseidonius, Polybius would have encountered Celtic communities at first hand on his travels in northern Italy, Gaul and Spain. He may even have fought against the Galatians as a young man in Asia Minor (Freeman 1994: 96). Most classical writers on the Celts, however, had far less direct knowledge. Indeed, as Fig. 9.2 shows, there is precious little overlap between the supposed occurrences of Celtic headhunting described in the classical texts and the period during which these accounts were written down. Even taken at face value, however, the classical accounts patently cluster in time and space, with a clear focus on Italy and the Balkans which account for all but two of the references. They hardly form a secure basis for generalisation to the wider Celtic world, conventionally taken to stretch eastwards from Iberia to Asia Minor, and northwards from southern France to Shetland.

The classical texts are also remarkably light on any mentions of a religious or cosmological basis for headhunting. Instead, they focus on the seemingly secular exploits of Celtic warriors who collect heads primarily to demonstrate their own prowess and to intimidate their enemies. Indeed, only Livy's account of the decapitation of the Roman consul Postumius by the Boii, and their subsequent manufacture of a gilded ritual drinking vessel from his skull, touches on the ritual basis of Celtic headhunting (*History of Rome*, 23.24, in Roberts 1912). In this regard, Greek and Roman writers seem to have more or less regarded Celtic headhunting as a form of 'corpse abuse' intended to denigrate the dead.

The second major strand of evidence comprises a further collection of documentary material. The Irish and Welsh literary sources, first transcribed by Christian monks from the Early Middle Ages onwards, are often thought to preserve certain elements of pre-Christian oral tradition (see Jackson 1964 for an optimistic view and Mallory 1981 for some of the problems). The following extract gives some flavour of this diverse body of texts. Deriving from a tale for which the earliest extant manuscript dates to the late 14th century, it purportedly describes the treatment afforded to the head of the high king of Ireland, Fergal mac Máele Dúin, after his death at the 'Battle of Allen'

'Then Fergal's head was washed and plaited and combed smooth by Cathal, and a cloth of velvet was put round it, and seven oxen, seven wethers and seven bacon-pigs (all of them cooked) were brought before the head. Then the head blushed in the presence of all the men of Munster, and it

opened its eyes to God to render thanks for the respect and great honour that had been shewn to it.’
(*Cath Almaine*, 26, in Stokes 1903)

There are many similar episodes in the Ulster Cycle and other tales, often involving strange or supernatural behaviour by the severed heads of heroes. Collectively, they can be taken to imply a strong residual belief in the supernatural powers of the severed head in Ireland and Wales during the Early Middle Ages, possibly reflecting a geographically and temporally wider set of ideas. As such they add an important cosmological or religious dimension to the rather secularised picture derived from the classical accounts. We should bear in mind, however, that the two sets of sources derive from quite different chronological and temporal (not to mention cultural) contexts.

The suite of literary sources, ancient and medieval, derives material support from the art and iconography of Iron Age Europe. One particularly striking example is the motif of the Celtic warrior with the severed head of his enemy hanging from his horse’s neck. This is mentioned by Strabo and Diodorus Siculus, both drawing from Poseidonius, and again by Livy in his description of the aftermath of the Battle of Clusium (*History of Rome*, 10.26, in Roberts 1912). The same striking image appears repeatedly in Iron Age iconography, engraved, for example, on a pillar from Entremont in southern France, probably dating to the 2nd century BC (Salviat 1993: 214); on several zoomorphic fibulae from Spain, probably dating to the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC (Almagro-Gorbea and Lorrio 1993: 231–233); and on a pot-sherd from Aulnat in the Auvergne (Fig. 9.3). Elsewhere a diverse range of disembodied human heads appears on brooches, rings, mounts and other fragments of metalwork. Lambrechts (1954) was the first to stress the symbolic centrality of the human head within La Tène art, but numerous more modern studies continue to identify this as a frequent and persistent motif (*e.g.* Almagro-Gorbea and Lorrio 1993, Megaw and Megaw 1993).



Fig. 9.3: This image of a mounted warrior with a severed head tied around his horse’s neck comes from the Iron Age settlement of Aulnat, near Clermont Ferrand in the Auvergne (drawn by Dan

Finally, human crania themselves, sometimes perforated for display, have proved to be a recurrent find on Iron Age archaeological sites right across Europe, from southern France (Arcelin 2006) to northern Scotland (Armit and Ginn 2007). Among the numerous cranial fragments and cervical vertebrae from the sanctuary of Gournay-sur-Aronde (Oise), for example, cranial fragments have been found with the *foramen magnum* enlarged to enable fixing on a post (Brunaux and Malagoli 2003: 26). The dramatic ‘war trophy’ from the broadly contemporary enclosure at Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Somme) contains the remains of around 400 decapitated warriors, displayed with their weapons and personal adornments (Brunaux 2004). The sheer scale of this monument suggests the institutionalisation of headhunting within the La Tène communities of northern France, although of course we have no idea where the heads themselves ended up. Yet we should not overlook the fact that the various enclosures at Ribemont contain a wide range of other evidence for the appropriation and manipulation of human remains, including ‘ossuaries’ formed of human and horse long bones (Duday 1998). Clearly, headhunting, here at least, forms just one strand in a range of practices and beliefs relating to the treatment of the human body.

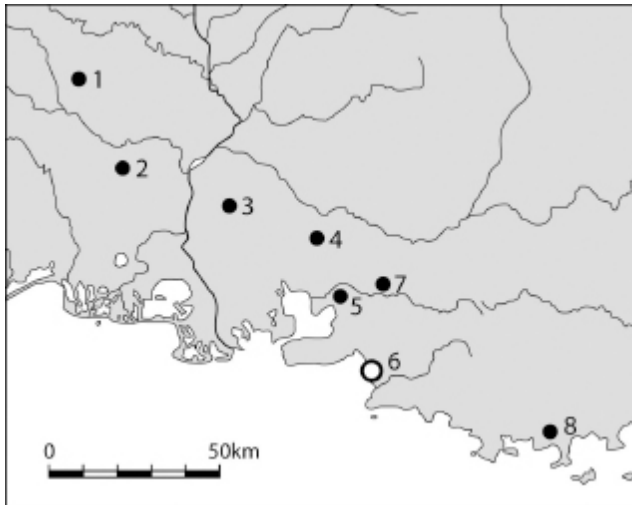


Fig. 9.4: Southern France showing some of the major sites discussed: 1. Vié-Cioutat, 2. Nîmes, 3. Glanum, 4. Badasset, 5. Roquepertuse, 6. Massalia, 7. Entremont, 8. Saint-Michel-de-Valbonne (drawn by Dan Bashford).

Thus, over many years, headhunting, and the veneration of the head, has come to be regarded as something of a cultural identifier, connecting Celtic-speaking communities far separate in time and space. Yet, perhaps because of its presumed connection to wider ideas of pan-Celtic religion and cosmology, Iron Age headhunting has rarely been studied from an *archaeological* perspective. Consequently, very little attention has been paid to the ways in which attitudes to the human head, and the practices associated with it, changed through time and from place to place. Headhunting has remained essentially ahistorical; part of a package of generic Celtic traits, with little discernible relationship to wider social practice.

As the existence of the ancient Celts themselves, as a meaningful cultural entity, has been increasingly brought into question (*e.g.* James 1999, Collis 2003), such supposedly pan-Celtic practices have seemed less and less relevant to studies of Iron Age societies. Where the matter has been considered at all, it is the literary references which have been given primacy, shaping and limiting the range of interpretive possibilities. For the remainder of this paper, I want to examine one regional tradition involving the removal, curation, display and representation of severed heads. As we shall see, the picture is far from static, and cannot easily be mapped against the literary texts.

Rituals of the head: cosmology, religion and ideology in the southern French Iron Age

The settlement sites of the southern French Iron Age have produced a good deal of iconographic and osteological evidence relating to headhunting in its broadest sense. This is particularly interesting since it was from his visit to precisely this area that Poseidonius' evocative and much-quoted account emanated in the early 1st century BC (a generation or so after the annexation of the region by the Roman army). As we shall see, the very diversity of the archaeological material, particularly the iconography, suggests that it must reflect more than a simple unchanging 'cult of the head'. My discussion will focus on a small sample of material from a handful of sites in Provence, close to the Greek colony of Massalia (Fig. 9.4).

Entremont: the early sanctuary

The earliest objects for consideration are two stone blocks from the site of Entremont, overlooking Aix-en-Provence, which was to become a major political centre of the Saluvii during the 2nd century BC (Arcelin 2006). These stones, however, date to a period several centuries earlier than the foundation of the oppidum. The first is a well-known pillar, re-used as a threshold stone in a public building within the later oppidum (Fig. 9.5). The second is a carved and shaped stone block, known as the *bloc aux épis* after the depiction of two ears of wheat on one of its decorated faces (Fig. 9.6). Both stones bear images of highly stylised, disembodied heads, carefully arranged in vertically-ordered groups; twelve on the head-pillar and four groups of four on the *bloc aux épis*. On the head-pillar they are shown without mouths; a convention that has been taken to signify silence and death (Benoît 1964). On the head pillar, and on two of the vertical arrangements on the *bloc aux épis*, the lowermost head is upturned, and the others seem to 'grow' upwards from it. Patrice Arcelin has suggested, on stylistic and technological grounds, that the *bloc aux épis* may date to around 700–450 BC, while the rather more finely carved head pillar was most likely created in the period around 500–400 BC (2006: 134). Despite the uncertainties, however, both belong to the early part of the southern French Iron Age.

What is most interesting here, particularly in view of what was to come later, is the stylisation and anonymity of these carved heads. There is no indication that they represent particular individuals, or even particular ethnic groups. Quantity seems to outweigh quality. Further, there is no representation of the successful headhunter. Indeed there is little to suggest that these images, or others like them at Badasset, Saint-Michel-de-Valbonne and elsewhere (Armit forthcoming), were intended to celebrate the exploits of any particular warrior. Indeed, I have suggested elsewhere that these early carvings are essentially embodiments of group success (Armit 2006: 9).



Fig. 9.5: The decorated portion of the head-pillar from Entremont. The original is 2.58 m high (drawn by Libby Mulqueeny).

There are also indications that these stones may be associated with concepts of fertility, and with agricultural productivity in particular (Armit forthcoming). The association of wheat and heads on the *bloc aux épis* reflects a common link in ethnographic accounts between human heads and fertility. Recent headhunting societies in south-east Asia, for example, saw a close relationship between the successful capture of enemy heads and the fertility of crops, animals and humans (e.g. Needham 1976). In such cases, the forms of head display often parallel the early French examples, laying stress on anonymity, quantity and composition. The so-called ‘skull-trees’ of 19th century East Sumba, Indonesia, for example, materialise the success and fecundity of the community through displays of defleshed crania taken from enemy groups (Hoskins 1996: 217). Certain trophy displays among the Nagas also bear remarkable conceptual similarities to those of Iron Age France, in their vertical ordering, and carefully choreographed arrangement, combining real heads and iconographic representations (e.g. Jacobs 1990: 122).

For the Nagas, as for many south-east Asian headhunting groups, where a similar conceptual linkage was made, the identity of the victim was entirely irrelevant. The head of a child or elderly woman was no less potent than the head of an adult male warrior. Hints of a similar situation of ‘substitutability’ (cf. Kelly 2000) are present in the early part of the southern French Iron Age, where the heads of children and juveniles were apparently curated at Languedocien sites like Ensérune, Vié-Ciutat and La Carla Bourière (Armit in press). The implication of both iconographic and osteological evidence, then, is that headhunting in the earlier part of the southern French Iron Age was related to cosmological ideas concerning fertility and group success, and was not primarily a strategy designed to aggrandise particular warriors.

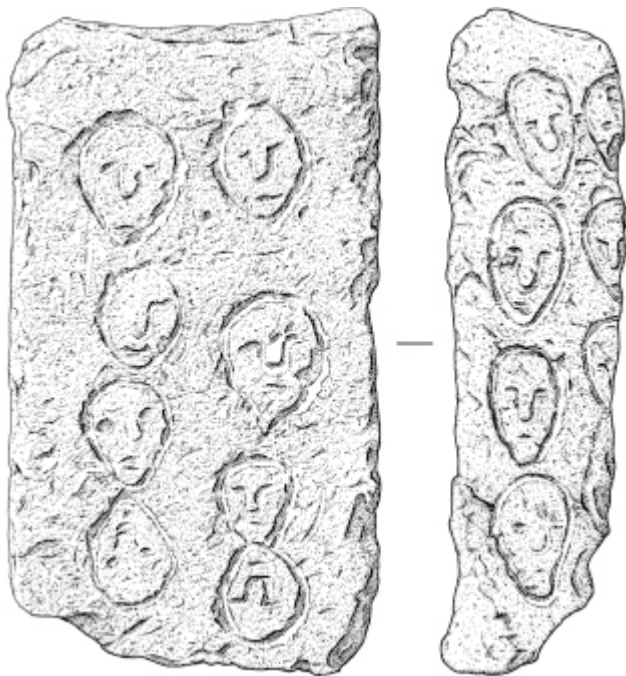


Fig. 9.6: The ‘bloc aux épis’ from Entremont showing two of the decorated faces. The stone survives to a maximum of around 0.65m high (drawn by Dan Bashford after Arcelin and Rapin 2003, figs. 4b and 4c).

Roquepertuse: porticos, pillars and severed heads

A somewhat different situation applies at the well-known sanctuary of Roquepertuse, perched above the Arc valley, just a few miles west of Entremont. Recent excavations by Philippe Boissinot (2003, 2004) have transformed our understanding of this site, which once housed a large assemblage of sculptures, famously including a series of seated male figures, a janus-head, and various pillars and lintels with niches cut to receive human heads (e.g. Benoît 1955a). It is now clear that the creation of the statues and the janus-head significantly pre-date other elements of the statuary (Arcelin and Rapin 2003, Boissinot and Gantès 2000). Although they may have remained on display for several centuries thereafter,

their origins appear to belong to a time when the sanctuary at Roquepertuse was essentially a 'natural' place with minimal artificial modifications (Armit forthcoming). Some time around 300 BC, however, the sanctuary was reconfigured on a monumental scale to create an enclosed, terraced space, accompanied by an extra-mural settlement. The centrepiece of this new sanctuary was a two-storey portico structure (Boissinot and Gantès 2000: fig. 15), supported by brightly painted pillars and lintels, decorated with geometric and animal art, and containing embedded human heads (Barbet 1991: fig. 17).

The concept of the portico itself underlines the liminal qualities of the severed head (Armit 2006: 11). As well as forming a physical doorway, or transitional space, within the sanctuary, the portico and its preserved heads materialise the threshold between life and death. Like the carvers of the earlier head pillars, the builders of the Roquepertuse sanctuary used human remains as objects of mediation between the physical and supernatural worlds. By now, however, perceptions seem to have changed, and these heads are no longer quite so anonymous.

Rather than being uniform in shape and size, all the niches are actually different (Coignard and Coignard 1991: 28). Some were shaped to accommodate only crania, while others could hold complete fleshed heads, with the upper cervical vertebrae still retained in the neck; no two were identical. This would not be a problem if, as the original excavator thought, the niches were simply late additions to the portico (Gérin-Ricard 1929), added one by one as fresh trophies were brought to the sanctuary by barbarous Celtic warriors. It is now clear, however, that the displayed heads were an integral part of the original design, outlined and emphasised by the painted geometric decoration (Barbet 1991), and perhaps themselves covered with painted clay. Yet the variations in the construction of the niches show that each one was subtly shaped to accommodate a particular head, and that these heads were a very motley collection. Either they had been processed differently, or else some were much older and more decayed than others. In other words, the portico was not built to accommodate a fresh crop of heads from a single event, nor in the hope or expectation of heads to come. It was built rather to house an existing collection, probably accumulated over a significant period of time. Perhaps these heads had been previously curated and/or displayed at Roquepertuse, or perhaps they had been more recently brought together by those involved in the enlargement and monumentalising of the sanctuary. In either case they seem to have been relics (whether of enemies or ancestors) rather than simply trophies taken opportunistically and stuck up on display.

This phenomenon is not restricted to Roquepertuse. A lintel fragment from the Villa Roma site at Nîmes, for example, displays two head niches similar to those at Roquepertuse, this time flanked by painted human figures (Barbet 1992). The niche on the left (for the viewer) has a horizontal bar cut into it, to accommodate some form of fixing. The niche on the right, however, has a smooth, plain back. Once again, this lack of uniformity in two adjacent niches, cut within the same block and set within the same decorative scheme, suggests that the piece was designed to accommodate two existing preserved heads of rather different form or vintage.



Fig. 9.7: This photograph shows a cast of the 'bloc aux épis' in situ at Entremont showing the face decorated with two ears of wheat (photograph by Ian Armit).

Further variations in the fixing mechanisms used to display preserved heads can be seen at the oppidum of Glanon, 45 km north-west of Roquepertuse (Roth Congès 2003, 2004). Here lintel and pillar fragments, discovered during Henri Rolland's excavations in the 1960s display a rough 'fist' of rock protruding from the back of the niche (Fig. 9.9). Variations on this basic form are present even within the Glanon assemblage, some involving iron nails, and others presumably relying on some form of adhesive. In each case, however, it would have been impossible to insert a preserved head or even a complete cranium, and it appears that only facial bones or preserved facial skins (perhaps with the hair attached) were displayed. This focus on the face might again suggest a desire to preserve some vestige of the individuality of the severed head.

The plastering and painting of the Roquepertuse skulls was intended to subsume them within the overall design of the monumental portico structure, blending previously disparate 'objects' into a unitary design. Although the original skulls seem to have been lost over the years (Mahieu 1998: 65), it seems clear from the original reports that they were all mature adults, ranging from around 25–45 years of age (Benoît 1955b: 41). And the potentially lengthy curation and movement of these relatively small numbers of heads suggests that they may have carried more importance as individual objects than the earlier anonymous heads depicted on the Entremont pillar and the *bloc aux épis*. Some heads were now, it seems, considered more important, and perhaps more potent, than others.

At Roquepertuse, Glanon, Nîmes and elsewhere, the surviving architectural fragments appear to derive from formal religious buildings constructed on a monumental scale. In the case of Roquepertuse and Glanon at least, they also occupy sites which had been important as religious places for several centuries previously. In the increasingly complex societies of the Iron Age Midi, it appears that the human head with all its associations of fertility, success and bounty, had retained its cosmological centrality within an increasingly formalised religious (and perhaps increasingly political) setting.

Entremont: the warrior statues

Finally, we come to the well-known series of warrior statues from Entremont (Salviat 1993). These cross-legged figures, closely reminiscent of the much earlier series of squatting warriors from Roquepertuse, Glanon and elsewhere, are depicted at close to life-size, wearing cuirasses of leather and chain-mail, armed with sheathed swords, and staring straight ahead at the viewer through wide open eyes. Their hands rest on severed human heads; up to six in one particular case (Fig. 9.10). Originally, there were at least nine of these statues, but it remains impossible to reassemble any one of them with confidence, so thoroughly and violently were they destroyed at the end of their ritual and political lives.

The creation of the statues has been dated no later than the first half of the 3rd century BC on the basis of their clothing, personal ornaments and weaponry (Arcelin and Rapin 2003: 208). This would suggest a possible overlap in date with the construction of the Roquepertuse portico. However, it is likely that the Entremont statues were carved over an extended period, perhaps several generations, and so they almost certainly continued to be made some time after the destruction of the Roquepertuse sanctuary.

With these statues it becomes clear that the iconography of headhunting has undergone a significant transformation. Despite the close similarities in style, size, pose, gesture and clothing, every warrior head is markedly distinct (Armit 2006: 9–10). Each has a quite different hair-style, or in one case a helmet. Facial details are subtly different, although each face is depicted as long, narrow, and high cheek-boned, perhaps suggesting familial resemblance or else adherence to some physical ideal. There seems little doubt that the sculptors at Entremont intended to depict real, recognisable individuals, all linked through their material trappings and conventions of display, but each meant to be recognised individually by the viewer.

It is not only the warriors that are highly individualised: the severed heads, sitting glumly in their laps, are also individually conceived (Fig. 9.10 and 9.11), varying markedly in their head-gear, hair styles *etc.* Some wear leather skull-caps, while others are bare-headed, and one has a bushy moustache and swept-back hair reminiscent of the archetypal Celt as depicted in classical art and literature (Fig. 9.11: right). Their facial shapes, while varied, notably do not replicate the elegant proportions of their killers; perhaps an indication of perceived racial, ethnic or familial difference.

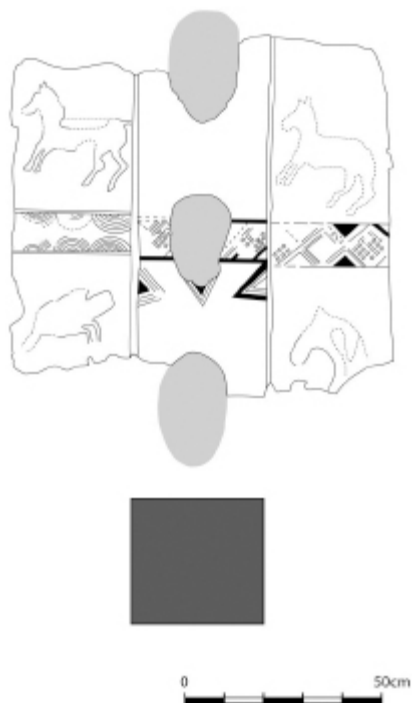


Fig. 9.8: The surviving portion of Pillar C from Roquepertuse, seen here 'spread out' to show the three decorated faces, gives some indication of the overall decorative scheme. The central face contains three superimposed skull niches, while the two side faces are divided into registers containing images of horses and a carrion bird (drawn by Dan Bashford after Barbet 1991, fig. 17).

Although the thematic content of these statues clearly echoes that of earlier carvings, like the head-pillar and the *bloc aux épis* from the same site, the nature of the iconography had by now markedly changed. Rather than the tottering piles of anonymous heads seen on the earlier carvings, these later statues symbolise the victory of individual and identifiable warriors over equally individual and identifiable victims. Why then, had the role of individual warrior, notable only by his absence from earlier representations of headhunting, now come to the fore?

The answer may lie in the changing socio-political situation in the volatile regions around Massalia. The 3rd century BC, when the statues were first carved, was a period of increasing centralisation, reflected by the development of major tribal confederacies, including the Volcae Arecomici in Languedoc and the Saluvii in Provence (Ebel 1976: 65). Although their production probably ceased by around 250 BC, it is clear that the statues continued to be prominently displayed on the main roadway through the 2nd century oppidum at Entremont, probably until its initial destruction around 125 BC (Arcelin 2004: 74). So, despite being a century or so old, they continued to occupy pride of place at the heart of an oppidum widely thought to be the capital of the Saluvii during their period of greatest political power and extent. It seems highly probable, therefore, that these statues and the individuals they depict were intimately associated with the origins of the Saluvian polity; an identification that goes some way to accounting for the ferocity of their

subsequent destruction.



Fig. 9.9: This pillar from Glanon displays a skull niche with a distinctive 'fist' of rock projecting from the interior. It appears to have been designed to allow the fixing of only the facial bones or facial skin (photo: author).

With the Entremont warrior statues (Fig. 9.10), artistic representations of headhunting shifted their focus from the realm of religion towards that of secular ideology and relations of dominance. That is not to say that these statues had no religious function. On the contrary, it is almost certainly the deep-rooted relationship between the human head and cosmological ideas of fertility and bounty that gave these statues their peculiar force. But now, rather than carve monuments dedicated to communal achievement and well-being, sculptors were engaged in the celebration of the efficacy or potency of particular individuals. The ideological message presented may still have encompassed the success of the group, but that success was now embodied in the person of a particular individual.



Fig. 9.10: This reconstruction shows a composite of one of the Entremont 'warrior statues' (drawn by Libby Mulqueeny based on Salviat 1993 nos. 3, 8, 22 and 23).

It seems highly probable that the Entremont statues represent members of the Saluvian elite, carved at a time when the polity was beginning to assert itself as the major power in the region. Perhaps the likeliest interpretation is that they depict successive leaders of the Saluvii (or some part of it) through the early decades of the 3rd century BC. We might wish to see them, for example, as a genealogically-linked succession of paramount chiefs. Yet the peculiar combination of individual identification within a strictly conventional mode of representation hints at a tension in the design of these sculptures. The individual is clearly important, but equally significant perhaps is the repetition and rigidity of style. This suggests that considerable importance was also attached to the continuity of the more abstract and enduring political/military office of which the individual was simply the temporary incumbent.

The situation recalls Caesar's account of political organisation among the Aedui of central Gaul during the 50s BC, where the elected political office of *Vergobret* formed the apex of power within an autocratic system of government (*De Bello Gallico* I.16, in Handford 1951). The various limitations placed on the power of the *Vergobret*, including a one-year term of office, a ban on succession by a near relative of the previous incumbent, and a ban on travels outside Aeduan territory (*ibid.* VI. 32–3), seem designed to prevent the seizure of permanent power by would-be kings. This presumably reflects the precarious nature of the Aeduan polity as an unstable emergent state, liable to slip at any time into the grasp of powerful and charismatic individuals. It is tempting to see the Saluvian statuary from Entremont as embodying a similar tension between individual aspiration and corporate

stability a couple of centuries earlier.



Fig. 9.11: These two sculptural fragments from Entremont depict severed heads grasped by hands (drawn by Libby Mulqueeny based on Salviat 1993, nos. 26 and 27).

Headhunting at Entremont was by no means restricted to the world of artistic representation. Real human heads were also displayed, though these seem to relate exclusively to the period *after* the destruction of the warrior statues (Congès 2004: 67). Several cranial fragments, for example, had apparently been attached to the major public building known as the hypostyle, close to the place where the warrior statues had previously been displayed (Mahieu 1998). Like the severed heads depicted on the laps of the warrior statues, these crania were exclusively from adult males, perhaps slain warriors and/or deposed leaders of the old regime (since the heads appear to have been put up more or less immediately after the destruction and re-modelling of the oppidum around 125 BC). The display of heads at Entremont was quite different from the earlier portico monument at Roquepertuse. Here they were attached to a timber-framed building by means of substantial iron nails driven through the front of the cranium. This is hardly suggestive of reverential treatment, and appears instead to symbolise relations of dominance; perhaps even corpse abuse devoid of any meaningful cosmological intent. It is interesting, therefore, that these nailed skulls were on display within a generation or so of Poseidonius' visit to the region which fossilised for posterity the classic description of Celtic headhunting.

Conclusions

I have argued elsewhere that the Celtic 'head-cult', as conventionally presented, is a myth, obscuring a wide range of historically situated attitudes and practices (Armit in press). As this brief survey of the southern French evidence shows, the values and meanings attached to the human head shifted markedly through time. Changes in both iconography and in the physical display of heads show a fluid and variable situation, where individual monuments have to be understood on their own terms. With the later Entremont statuary, the focus has

moved well and truly away from the values originally invested in the heads themselves; the focus now is on the warrior, with the heads as supporting players. Rather than celebrating communal success and fertility, these statues celebrate individual members of the elite, and/or the authority vested in a particular leadership role within an increasingly hierarchical society on the verge of statehood. Drawing on the underlying symbolism of heads, as embodiments of potency and fertility, the emergent elite of the 3rd century BC used the heads of their enemies to display their own power and efficacy. It is tempting to see the monumentalisation of the Roquepertuse sanctuary around 300 BC as marking a stage in the process of polity-building. The bringing together of relics belonging to different groups, and their melding into a greater whole within the monumental sanctuary, would have been a powerful statement of a new political reality, embodying traditional cosmological ideas and cast within increasingly formalised religious conventions. Even if, as seems likely, the builders of the Roquepertuse portico were ultimately unsuccessful, the process itself was to result in the formation of major indigenous polities like the Saluvii which, for a time at least, threatened the political dominance of Massalia and Rome within the region.

The sustained focus on the disembodied human head in the Iron Age iconography of southern France, and its centrality in monumental architecture, mark it out as a robust and powerful symbol, capable of appropriation and manipulation in various directions. Yet other human body parts are extremely elusive in the region. Why then, was there such a focus on the head? It seems hard to escape the conclusion that the head was seen as the most vital part of the body. Acquisition and curation of the head seems to have afforded benefits to the head-taker(s), whether these benefits lay in enhanced fertility for the group, or personal aggrandisement for the individual. The head, shorn of the accompanying body, retained, and perhaps intensified, some essence, force or vitality associated with the individual or group from which it was derived. As such, the archaeology of this region seems to reflect, in a rather concentrated form, the more widespread interest in the human head seen across much of Iron Age Europe. Yet communities in other regions clearly had parallel, but different, beliefs and practices associated with the body, in which elements other than the head also played a significant role. It will be important in future research to break away from the particular focus on the head, to understand the wider role of human bodies, complete and fragmented.

Acknowledgements

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10. Dissecting the Classical Hybrid

Jessica Hughes

‘At the place of transition where the Minotaur becomes man, beneath the breastbone where the ribs begin to drop away, he uses a medicinal balm. Over the years, despite his willingness to try new creams and curatives, the line remains tender, painful at times. The temperature of the scarlike ribbon and the flesh around it, bullish gray on one side, milky, translucent and human on the other, always seems a few degrees hotter than anywhere else on the Minotaur’s body, as if the fusion is still in process.’

Sherrill 2000: 84–85

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the anatomy of the classical hybrid, and its relationship to (whole) human and animal bodies. Both ancient and modern sources describe hybrid anatomies in the positive terms of construction and creation, of grafting and fusion. However, in this chapter I want to draw attention to a parallel tradition, which experiments with the theme of *deconstruction*, of *disaggregation*. The material introduced in these pages shows how ancient authors and artists often chose to highlight the instability of the hybrid body, by distributing its parts across the surface of an object, or through the lines of a written text. Once this trend has been established, I move on to explore the implications of this shift in emphasis – from construction to deconstruction – for how we see ancient hybrids functioning in their environment. Working from the insistent connection made in ancient thought between animality and fragmentation, I suggest that the hybrid’s ‘partible’ body can be seen to challenge the cultural as well as the biological boundaries that separated humans and animals in the Graeco-Roman world. The idea that the form of hybrid bodies reflects broader discourses about human-animal relations in a particular historical context is reinforced by looking at hybrid images from the 21st century, whose anatomies are radically different from those of their classical ‘ancestors’.

Hybrids in the Classical World

The hybrids of classical myth are a heterogeneous bunch, but Peter von Blanckenhagen has suggested that they can be divided into two broad categories. The first comprises “individual, unique, solitary creatures”, which often appear exclusively in encounters with the great heroes of Greek mythology: into this category we can put the (bull-man) Minotaur, (dog-woman) Scylla, (bull-man) Achelous and (fish-man) Triton. The second group consists

of those hybrids which live *en masse* – “tribes in which the individual is but a member of its group” (von Blanckenhagen 1987: 85). This group includes the (horse-men) centaurs and (horse-men) satyrs as well as (bird-women) sirens and (lion/eagle/serpent-women) sphinxes. However, these collectives do include notable individual members, such as the centaur Chiron, who was skilled in music and medicine, and the Theban Sphinx, made famous by her deadly riddle.

Images of hybrids appeared in a wide range of ancient contexts. Some of the most striking narrative scenes are found on Greek pots. The early 5th-century BC stamnos shown in Figure 10.1 depicts Odysseus sailing past the bird-bodied Sirens. As described in the *Odyssey*, he has voluntarily been tied to his ship’s mast, so that he can listen to the Sirens’ song without it drawing him in (his crew cannot hear the song at all, since they have wax stuffed into their ears). In Italy, images of hybrids crowd the painted walls and mosaic floors of houses of Pompeii and Herculaneum, giving some indication of their popularity in Roman domestic decoration. Across the ancient world hybrids decorated human bodies in both life and death, on carved gemstones and metal jewellery. They teem in the funerary sphere, from the sphinxes which sit atop funerary pillars in Greece, to the centaurs and satyrs that dance across Roman sarcophagi in ecstatic Dionysiac processions. They are also used in the public realm, on large state-sponsored monuments. In 5th century Greece the battle between the centaurs and (human) lapiths was one of the most popular subjects for representing on temples: it appeared on the relief frieze of the temple of Apollo in Bassae and in the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. The centauromachy on the south metopes of the Parthenon (see Fig. 10.2) has been interpreted as an allegory of Greco-Persian conflict, configured here as the triumph of reason and civilisation over bestial brutality (see Castriota 152–154; for a different reading see Osborne 1994).



Fig. 10.1: Red-figure stamnos, *Odysseus and the sirens*, c. 480–470 BC. Image reproduced courtesy of The British Museum.

These Graeco-Roman hybrids have attracted a range of interpretations, from the historically-specific (*e.g.* the Parthenon centaurs as Persians) to the more general and encompassing (*e.g.* hybrids as apotropaic symbols). Amongst the most interesting are those which focus on the double-body of the hybrid as a symbol of the meeting of, or transition between, ontological categories. Vedia Izzet, for example, has recently pointed out that the figures most commonly represented on Etruscan temples are all dual-natured, and thus provide an ideal template for the meeting of the human and divine spheres:

All these creatures are, in some senses, between categories and transcend them, or, in the language of structural anthropology, they are all liminal... The gorgon is half woman, half beast; the satyr half man, half beast; Achéloos half man, half bull; and the maenad half mad, half sane. By virtue of belonging to neither and both categories simultaneously, these figures are ideal for mediating between one world and another, in this case religious and non-religious, and temple and non-temple (Izzet 2000: 45–46).

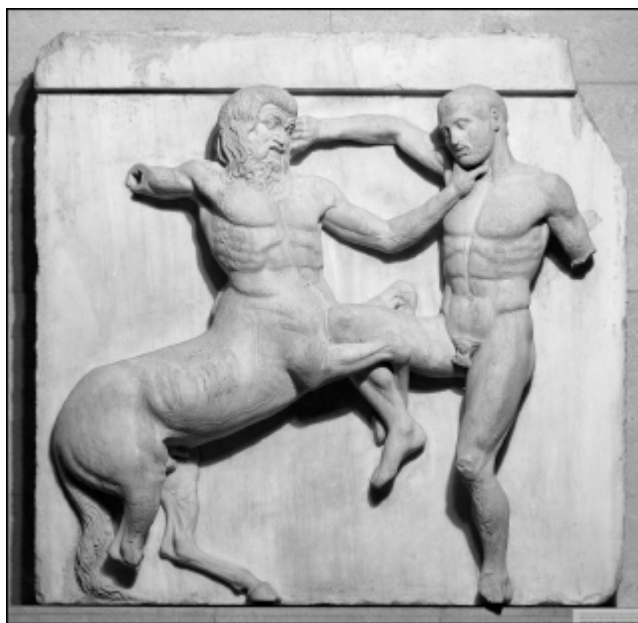


Fig. 10.2: Metope from the Parthenon, lapith and centaur, c. 440 BC. Image reproduced courtesy of The British Museum.

Other commentators emphasise the notion of change. Ismene Lada-Richards focuses on those hybrid creatures included in ancient initiatory ritual, suggesting that these amorphous bodies helped the initiates to accomplish their transition to a new identity (Lada-Richards 1998). David Napier has pointed out how frequently centaurs and satyrs appeared at rituals or festivals marking the changes in the seasons. He notes how “even the visual impression of half-human beings can epitomize, especially in the case of Centaurs, something in the midst of change – transfixed, as it were, in the act of a human becoming an animal or an animal becoming a human” (Napier 1986: 63–64). Helen King draws attention to the fact that the ‘good’ centaur Chiron figures in mythology as the tutor of several adolescent males, including the Greek heroes Achilles and Hercules, observing that “it is as if the process of

instruction by which an individual moves from the category of boy to that of man is best achieved by a creature which itself straddles otherwise separate categories” (King 1995: 142). Analogous comments could be made of the numerous images of hybrids which occur in the funerary realm, in the context of transition between life and death, or life and afterlife.

These varied interpretations all attempt to map the double form of the hybrid body onto the world which produced it – a world which is seen to be organised around basic binary distinctions. The anatomical boundary which separates man from beast is understood to equate to those invisible cultural boundaries which demarcated self from ‘Other’, mortal from divine, ephebe from adult, initiated from uninitiated, and so on. However, many would want to challenge this essentially structuralist view of the Greek world, and to argue that any interpretation which explains the anatomy of the classical hybrid in terms of category distinctions risks imposing a modernist, ‘metaphysical’ understanding onto the past (cf. Thomas 1996: 11–30), as well as blinding us to a whole range of other, potentially more interesting insights. This chapter thus offers an alternative view of how we might place ancient hybrids back into their historical landscape. It concurs with the structuralist interpretations in seeing the fundamental binarism of these creatures’ bodies as working in dialogue with other kinds of cultural institution. However, it moves away from a reading of the hybrid body as representing the meeting of/movement between categories, to investigate instead the hybrid as a symbol of disunity and fragmentation.

Hybrid Anatomies

The anatomy of the classical hybrid was not static, but changed over time and between places. The centaur, for example, became progressively more ‘animalised’ over the course of the 5th century (Baur 1912, Padgett 2004). In the Archaic period, the centaur often had a fully human body, with only a thin horse ‘appendage’ protruding from its lower back (cf. Padgett 2004: 11, fig. 6). During the course of the 5th century, however, it became more common to show the centaur with equine rather than human forelegs (Fig. 10.2). Other hybrids were instead progressively humanised. Sphinxes, sirens and gorgons all gradually became more feminine and idealised over the course of the Archaic and Classical periods (Tsiafakis 2004). In the 6th century, sirens are depicted as human-headed birds, but early Classical examples have arms (our Fig. 10.1 is unusually old-fashioned in this respect: the vase dates to the Classical period but its sirens retain completely avian bodies); and by the late Classical/Hellenistic period the sirens were birds only below the hips, and “alluringly curvaceous” female nudes above (Buitron Oliver and Cohen 1995). This evolution in the siren’s appearance is given a functional explanation by Francois Lissarrague, who notes that hybrids are given arms only when these are needed, *i.e.* to play musical instruments (Lissarrague 2000: 138). However, Buitron-Oliver and Cohen remind us that the increasingly feminine appearance of the sirens would also have evoked comparison with ‘real’ Greek women, particularly in their roles as mourners, musicians and fatally sexualised beings.

While the bodies of hybrids transformed over time, one basic principle remained the same: they were all made from the combination of recognisable parts of other bodies. The hybrids discussed in this chapter are formed from parts of human and animal bodies; other classical hybrids combine animal with animal. The griffin, for instance, comprises the bodies of a lion and an eagle, while the chimaera is described by Homer as “lion-fronted and snake behind, with a goat in the middle” (*Iliad* 6.179). In visual images, these formally

different parts are often further distinguished through the use of different colours or textures. One 2nd-century AD polychrome mosaic now in Berlin shows centaurs in their ‘natural’, wild habitat (Kriseleit 1985: 30–31 no. 8). The scene includes a rare image of a female centauress, who is lying on the ground being mauled by a leopard: to the right of the scene, a male centaur (her partner?) prepares to crush the leopard with a large rock. The yellow-brown of his fleshy human parts is clearly distinguished from the rugged, darker brown hide of the horsey part. The centauress is a paler colour, but the artist has left it ambiguous as to whether this is because she is female (the conventions of Greek painting distinguished lighter female from darker male bodies) or because she is dead.



Fig. 10.3: Patricia Piccinini, *The Young Family*, 2002, Silicone, polyurethane, leather, plywood, human hair, 80 x 150 x 110cm. Photo: Graham Baring. Image reproduced courtesy of the artist.

This observation that hybrids are made out of parts of other bodies is something of a truism. However, what I want to emphasise here is the degree to which the parts of the classical hybrid *remain* distinct and separable. To clarify this point, we can compare other hybrids from other periods which provide starkly different models of anatomical combination. Figure 10.3 shows one of the highlights of the 2003 Venice Biennale – a sculpture called *The Young Family* created by the contemporary Australian artist Patricia Piccinini. Made from a mixture of synthetic and organic materials, the sculpture represents a (touching? terrifying?) group of what Donna Haraway has described as “mop-eared, porcine transgenics”, an “unlovely chimeric litter with a shrivel-skinned, big-rumped, heavy-lidded, all-too-humanoid mama” (Haraway 2007). The dynamics of the group – a mother with her young – are familiar, but their bodies defy any easy categorisation. Human, dog and pig characteristics can all be glimpsed in the bodies and gestures, but none of these elements exist unchanged. Rather than any clear separation of human and animal characteristics, the boundaries between human and animal – if they continue to exist at all – are fluid and slippery.



Fig. 10.4: Red-figure cup, *Theseus and the Minotaur*, c. 485–480 BC. Image reproduced courtesy of The British Museum.

We will come back to Piccinini’s sculpture in a moment, but for now it is enough to recognise the difference between these two models of hybridity: firstly, the ‘segmented’ model of classical antiquity, in which each body part retains its separate shape and character, and secondly, the ‘mixed’ model of contemporary art, whereby each of the component body parts ‘bleeds into’ the other(s). I should admit at this point that, while the segmented model is the norm in classical antiquity, examples of the mixed model are not completely absent: this is particularly true of the art of the Archaic period, where hybrids were less idealised and more ‘monstrous’ than their later descendants. The scene represented in Figure 10.4 comes from the interior of an Attic red-figure cup dating to the early 5th century BC. It shows one version of a scene that is repeated numerous times on vases of this period, in which the Minotaur meets his death at the hands of the hero Theseus. In the majority of these scenes, the Minotaur’s bull head tops an idealised, fully-human body; however, in this version the body is covered in painted flecks, generally taken to represent hair. In this scene, the human part of the Minotaur’s body has ‘absorbed’ something of the animal. The same might be said for the faces of some (although not all) of the centaurs on the Parthenon metopes; the mask-like, grotesque features of the centaur depicted in Figure 10.2 contrast sharply with the idealised human beauty of his Lapith opponent. Clearly, the segmented model fails to capture the complexity of these figures, whose constituent pieces are transformed in the process of combination. Nevertheless, the majority of classical hybrids avoid any such mixture of human and animal parts – and even these two ‘mixed’ examples are worlds apart from Piccinini’s futuristic critters.

Why do these ancient and modern hybrids look so different? Artistic convention obviously plays some part here. Richard Allen has recently written about the “constraints of decorum” that governed the representation of the human body in Renaissance art (Allen 2002: 341). The same principles apply to images of the classical period, where visual representations of potentially abject processes such as metamorphosis or death eschewed realism in favour of beauty and integrity of form (cf. Fig. 10.9 below). Classical artists saw hybrids, not as a challenge to experiment with monstrous forms, but rather as an opportunity to represent two perfect (half) bodies. In his *Metamorphoses*, the Roman poet Ovid praises the beauty of the centaur Cyllarus with the following words: “His neck, chest, shoulders, hands and every manly part seemed like a sculptor’s much-praised masterpiece. Unblemished too his equine shape, nor less fine than his man’s” (*Met.* 12.397). All the same, artistic trends do not take shape in a vacuum, and divergent models of hybridity are

likely to reflect a whole range of beliefs and practices surrounding human and animal bodies. In the case of the contemporary sculpture these beliefs are relatively transparent, since the artist herself has situated her work in response to emerging biotechnologies and accompanying debates in bio-ethics:

The world that I have been lost in for the last several years is not the same as ours but it is not that different – it is not inconceivable. Obviously the things that I create don't actually exist but perhaps they could. In fact, perhaps I create them because they should. The ideas, the context, the technologies required for their existence are certainly already part of our world; genetic engineering, biotechnology, stem cell research, cloning, bio-electronics are all part of everyday life for us. The possibilities for my creations are already amongst us, and before too long the things themselves could turn up unannounced, without our ever having had the opportunity to wonder how much we want them (Piccinini 2006).

The biotechnologies that Piccinini mentions fuse the human and animal at the corporeal micro-scale of tissues, cells and genes, with unpredictable results. The hyper-real silicon forms of the *The Young Family* already embody technological achievement, but their bodies confront the viewer with the possibilities of further progress. The anatomy of these contemporary hybrids clearly responds to 21st century debates about where the human-animal boundary is located: the rest of this chapter will argue that the anatomy of the classical hybrid is subject to the same contingency.

Fragmenting the Classical Hybrid

The notion that the classical hybrid might be seen as a product of two fragmented bodies is largely disavowed in the modern literature on the subject. The language used to describe these hybrids highlights the act of joining and the creation of *new* composite bodies, while failing to acknowledge the act of deconstruction that this process logically entails. The hybrids from antiquity (both human-animal and animal-animal) are collectively known by the German word *Mischwesen* (lit. 'mixed beings'), while the analogous English term is 'composite beings' or 'composite creatures'. In describing individual hybrids, writers often employ positive words such as 'created', 'constructed', 'assembled', 'joined', 'united' or 'coupled'. In the passage cited at the opening of this chapter, the novelist Stephen Sherill gives us an intimate view of the naked Minotaur, and of the hot scar which harks back to a primitive moment of *fusion*. Similarly, the scholar Jackie Pigeaud uses the concept of *grafting* to describe the fabrication of monsters in ancient art and thought. Through his role in the Minotaur's generation, for instance, the craftsman Daedalus fulfilled every artist's dream of creating a living being: "Il a réussi la greffe de l'humain et de l'animalité" (Pigeaud 1988: 216).

To some extent, these modern interpreters take their lead from ancient sources. In a famous passage of his *Ars*, the Roman poet Horace represents the artistic depiction of hybrid forms as a process of addition:

If a painter wanted to join (*iungere*) a horse's neck to a human head, and to draw varied feathers over limbs collected from all over the place (*undique collatis membris*), so that he might finish off in a black fish that which was a lovely woman at top, would you, my friends, hold your laughter when sent in to look? (*Ars* 1–5).

Aelian uses similar language in his zoological treatise, when he compares the 'real' monsters of distant lands with the fanciful creations of artists:

They tell of others too which have strange forms whose appearance not even men skilled in painting and in combining (*symplekein* – lit. ‘entangle’, ‘weave together’) bodies of diverse shapes to make one marvel at the sight, could portray with accuracy or represent for all of their artistic skill; for these creatures have immense and coiling tails, while for feet they have claws or fins’ (*On Animals* 16.18).

But while Graeco-Roman authors also evoked concepts of composition and assembly in their descriptions of hybrid monsters, there existed a parallel tradition which explored the ‘partibility’ of the composite beast (Horace’s *undique collatis membris* already hints in this direction). One early example of this alternative discourse comes from Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia*, a pseudo-biographical portrait of the Persian leader, Cyrus, written by an Athenian in the 5th century BC. Around the middle of the book, we hear Cyrus recommending that his men, who have until that time campaigned on foot, learn to ride on horseback. Cyrus’ general, Chrysantas, considers the idea, and the image which springs into his mind is that of a centaur – or rather, a centaur that can be taken to pieces. “If I learn to ride”, he says

...whenever I’m on horseback I’ll no doubt do the things that centaurs do,
and when I dismount, I’ll dine and dress and sleep just like other people do.
What other result could there be than that I would become a centaur who can
be taken apart and then put back together again? (*Cyr.* 4.3.19–20).

Cyrus embraces this image, and suggests that perhaps it would be as well to make riding compulsory, and to forbid his men from walking even short distances – that way, people who encountered the Persians would think they actually *were* centaurs (*Cyr.* 4.3.22–23). David Johnson has suggested that this image of the centaur can be read as a symbol of the hybrid empire conceived and embodied by Cyrus, represented in Xenophon’s text as a (doomed) combination of Median luxury and Persian restraint. Johnson explains how “Cyrus attempts to retain Persian values in himself and his entourage despite his adoption of Median ways – he and his companions are to be impressive in both their showy Median garb and for their willingness to work up a traditional Persian sweat” (Johnson 2005: 181). Following this line of thought, we might wonder whether Chrysantas’ vision of the centaur’s coming-apart is not intended to prefigure the collapse of this hybrid Persian government. Such a reading would suggest that the partible hybrid functioned as a metaphor through which Greek thinkers could explore other forms of (non-corporeal) breakdown.

One of the most explicit images of the hybrid body-inpieces is found in another 5th-century work by the presocratic philosopher Empedocles. In his text *On Nature*, itself now in fragments, Empedocles set forth an ingenious theory of the evolution of species. The first stage is described as follows: “Thus many neckless heads sprang up, bare arms wandered bereft of shoulders, and eyes wandered alone, destitute of faces” (frag. B57). In the second stage, these floating limbs spontaneously combined into whole, complex beings. This description is comparable to Empedocles’ theory of the human foetal development, wherein separate, fully-formed body parts come together inside the mother’s womb. Some of these composite beings were humans, others were animals. But a third category was comprised of human-animal hybrids:

Many double-faced (*amphiprosopa*) and double-chested (*amphisterna*) creatures were born, ox-progeny man-faced sprang up, others conversely man-natured ox-headed, mixed here from men, here women-natured, wrought with shadowy limbs (frag. B61).

These hybrids proved to be non-viable, and died out. This picture dovetails neatly with Greek mythology, which situates hybrids in the distant, heroic past. Empedocles' *amphiprosopa* and *amphisterna* also reflect contemporary representations of monstrosity as numerical anomalies of otherwise normal limbs (e.g. the Cyclops with his single eye, Cacus with his hundred eyes). Most importantly for us though, Empedocles' theory gives us a striking retrospective vision of the hybrid body-in-pieces. David Sedley does note that "(Empedocles') term for these isolated limbs is reported to have been *mounomelê*, 'single-limbed', an expression which reminds us that they were not parts severed from previously complex beings, but each at this stage functioning in its own right as an independent 'single-limbed' creature, a simple organism with just one specialisation" (Sedley 2003: 3). From the retrospective viewpoint of the reader, however, these limbs *can only* be understood in relation to their teleological context, as parts of whole human and animal bodies.

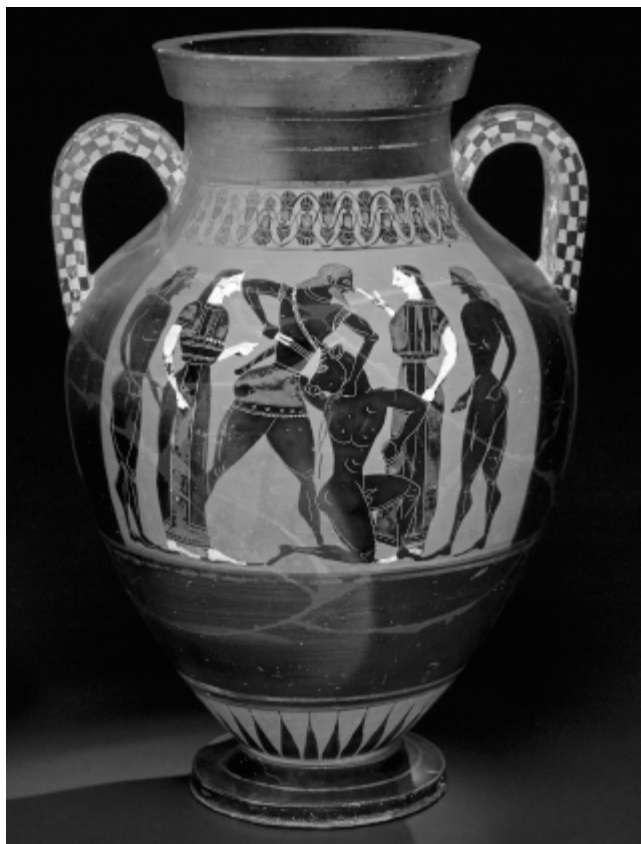


Fig. 10.5: Black-figure amphora, *Theseus and the Minotaur*, c. 550 BC. Image reproduced courtesy of The British Museum.

The two examples given here are relatively explicit images of the hybrid body-in-pieces. But we might want to argue that *any* text which lists the parts of the hybrid's body can be

perceived in terms of fragmentation. A description of the Sirens as ‘figures with a woman’s head, arms and breasts but a bird’s legs, wings and tail’ might invite similar comments as the French anatomical *blason*, which recent critics have seen as a figurative dismemberment of the versified female body (e.g. Sawday 1995: 191; Vickers 1997). Moreover, in Greek and Latin poetry, metre and word order could be used to detach and re-organise the parts of the hybrid’s anatomy. Ovid describes the Minotaur as “semibovemque virum semivirumque bovum” (*Ars Amatoria* 2.24), a line which, as Rusten notes, echoes the “amphiprosopa... amphisternum” of Empedocles (Rusten 1982). Here the Minotaur’s body, ‘half-bull-and man, halfman-and bull’, splits into two, and then into two again. The equal and mirroring halves of the pentameter line break around the caesura; this split is then replayed in each half of the line, in which the bull (*bovem*) and man (*virum*) parts are separated by an intervening *-que*.

Visual artists also experimented with breaking the hybrid form. In an article on Archaic and Classical centaurs, J. Michael Padgett draws attention to a series of black-figured amphorae by artists of the Leagros group, which depict Peleus bringing his son Achilles to Cheiron (Padgett 2003, 40 n.102). These vases show Cheiron at the far right-hand side of the scene, his ‘equine extension’ cut off by the picture’s frame, while at the far left, moving away from the centre of the scene, we see the rump and hind legs of Peleus’ chariot horses (e.g. Berlin Staatl. Mus F1900; *ABV* 385, 27). The impression, Padgett notes, is of a centaur that has ‘come full circle’; but the vase also confronts us with the image of a centaur cloven in two. Padgett also makes reference to a 12th-century BC terracotta statuette from Phylakopi on the island of Melos, representing a nude male figure, with evidence of a break point on the buttocks (French 1985, 226 cat. no. SF1553). As French and Warren have both noted, it is very likely that the statuette originally represented a centaur of the ‘archaic’ type, which has a fully human body as well as the hindquarters of a horse (French 1983: 223; Warren 1986: 156). Whether the breakage was deliberate or accidental, the statuette in its fragmented state works to inform the viewer of the volatility of the hybrid body, and of the ‘natural’ autonomy of each of its segments.

While the centaur was split at the point of the waist, the Minotaur’s natural break was at the neck. Perhaps unsurprisingly, depictions of his death at the hands of Theseus played around with the imagery of decapitation. The struggle between Theseus and the Minotaur is represented on Greek vases of the 6th and 5th centuries BC, where the two opponents are depicted locked in combat in the centre of the vase, sometimes watched by Ariadne and Minos, sometimes alone. In one of these scenes, Theseus cups his fingers around the Minotaur’s bovine chin and pulls upwards, as if to detach the head from the body (Philippaki 1967: 65, pl. 33). In fact, the scene looks as much like an ‘unmasking’ as a beheading: this brings to mind Ken Dowden’s comments about the animal-headed deities of Egypt, whose resemblance to maskwearing humans intimate their connection with rituals of enactment (Dowden 1998). Other versions of the death scene are less ambiguous: Theseus is shown equipped with a sword, which he drives into the Minotaur’s neck (Fig. 10.5). In an unusually violent touch, the blood pours out in splashes.

The Minotaur’s body continues to be fragmented by artists even when he appears outside scenes of direct combat. Figure 10.6 shows a sarcophagus from Fidenae, now in Cliveden (Robert 1900). The figures carved into its surface can be identified as the cast of the ‘Cretan saga’. Theseus is represented in heroic semi-nudity, and appears twice on the front of the sarcophagus. On the left he converses with an older, bearded man (possibly King Minos or Aegeus, Theseus’ father); meanwhile on the right he is caught in the act of deserting Ariadne, who reclines semi-naked on the ground. To Ariadne’s left extends the body of the

Minotaur, entangled between Theseus' legs. Their physical closeness – Ariadne leans against the Minotaur's feet – reminds the viewer of their familial bond, for despite her beauty and his monstrosity the two are 'genetically' related through their mother Pasiphae. The Minotaur has been wrapped around the corner of the sarcophagus' surface: anyone looking at this object from the front would simply see the lower portion of a naked male body, and would have to move around to the side of the sarcophagus to see the bull's head and understand the figure's true identity. The shape of the sarcophagus has been used to decapitate one of its central figures: this image of an essentially fragmented corpse is very unlike the beautiful whole bodies normally depicted on Roman sarcophagi, which disavow the process of bodily decomposition that was going on inside the stone container.



Fig. 10.6: Sarcophagus, Theseus and the Minotaur, c. 250 AD. Image courtesy of the Forschungsarchiv für Antike Plastik, Köln.

Animality and Fragmentation

So how might these partible hybrids reflect the world in which they were made? The classical hybrid poses an additional threat above and beyond its fusion of human and animal bodies by confronting the viewer with the spectre of bodily disintegration. As we have seen, the hybrids created by classical artists and authors were inherently unstable organisms whose bodies were taken apart as easily as they had been put together. The artefacts discussed in this chapter are particularly explicit about the fragmentary quality of the classical hybrid, but any image constructed according to what we have called the 'segmented' model could be read in a similar light; and I would argue that as soon as viewers recognised themselves in the (perfectly) human part of the image, they admitted the possibility of their own bodily fragmentation. Such a reading has certain implications for how we perceive the hybrid to 'work', since when we look sideways at other elements of the human-animal relationship in classical antiquity, we see bodily integrity being used to define the difference between human and animal bodies.

As John Heath has noted, Greek philosophers were obsessed with explaining what makes man unique amongst animals, "virtually inventing the familiar topos 'man alone of the animals is/possesses x'" (Heath 2005: 6). Amongst the many answers offered to this

conundrum was man's ability to reason, speak, laugh and feel shame, as well as his possession of hands (Sorabji 1993: 89–93). As the long duration of this discourse and the shifting nature of its conclusions indicate, the boundary between human and animal bodies was far from self-evident, but was rather constructed and policed through a whole series of discourses and practices, amongst which the issue of bodily cutting and dismemberment was central. Animal bodies were routinely opened and/or fragmented in the hunt, on the dinner table and on the sacrificial altar; these same practices simultaneously produced human bodies that were whole and inviolable. Of course, it is not the case that human bodies were never fragmented, but any such cases generally occurred in deviant or at least unusual circumstances. For instance, Heinrich von Staden has shown how the cutting of the human body was ratified only in situations of crisis, like warfare, or 'emergency' surgery (Von Staden 1992; cf. Martin 1983). Von Staden suggests that the unwillingness of Greek anatomists to dissect the human body can be explained by the fact that scientific dissection lacked this 'legitimizing factor' of crisis; significantly, the animal body could be dissected, and conclusions about the human body inferred from the results.

In visual representations, the cut animal body is often shown accompanied by the whole, impermeable bodies of humans. Numerous vase-paintings represent animal sacrifice, not simply as an extermination, but as a painstaking dissection of the animal body into a collection of internal and external pieces. One common scene depicts the act of divination from the sacrificial entrails; here, the animal innards are often shown in the hands of a Greek warrior, whose protective armour-cladding emphasises the impermeability of *his* body (Fig 10.7; Durand and Lissarrague 1979). Other texts and images do show the human body being (or about to be) cut or dismembered; however, in these cases the human is compared to or transformed into an animal, thus making a conceptual link between animality and fragmentation. The myth of the sacrifice of Iphigenia is a good example of this process. The playwright Euripides recounts how the body of the maiden Iphigenia was snatched away by the goddess Artemis, just as the knife was about to pierce her flesh, and a deer substituted in her place (*Iphigenia at Aulis* 1578). One 4th-century BC Apulian krater depicts Iphigenia standing with her head inclined under the knife held out by her father Agamemnon; while other artists chose to show the deer hovering at the margins of the scene, here Iphigenia's body is superimposed onto that of the animal (Fig. 10.8). The girl's foot trails along the same curve as the hind legs of the deer, while the animal's muzzle and ears protrude from the profile of her human face. This image effectively hybridises the girl and beast, as well as visually capturing the moment of transition (cf. Sharrock 1996 for the conceptual overlap between hybridity and metamorphosis). Representations of the myth of Actaeon can also be brought in here. Actaeon was a hunter who was turned into a stag by Artemis/Diana and subsequently torn to pieces by his own hounds, inverting the normal power relations between human (hunter) and animal (hunted). The 4th-century BC Lucanian krater shown at Figure 10.9 depicts the moment of Actaeon's death, again collapsing the narrative sequence of events (metamorphosis followed by killing) into a single synchronic image. Actaeon has sprouted stag's antlers, and his dogs leap to tear at his body. Like the Iphigenia vase, this image vividly reinforces the connection between animality and fragmentation.



Fig. 10.7: Red-figure amphora, Sacrificial scene, 500–475 BC. Image courtesy of the Martin von Wagner Museum, Würzburg.



Fig. 10.8: Volute Crater, Sacrifice of Iphigenia, 370–355 BC. Image courtesy of The British Museum.

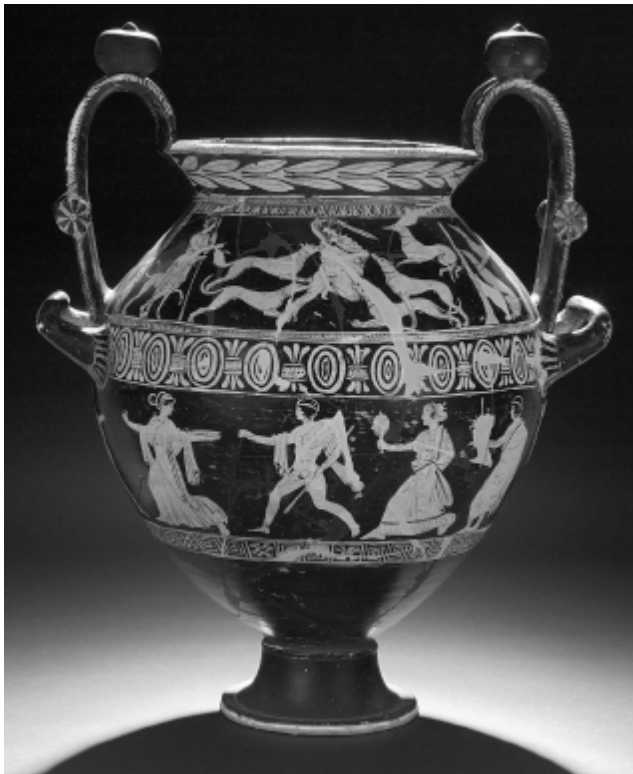


Fig. 10.9: Nestoris, Death of Actaeon, 400–380 BC. Image courtesy of The British Museum.

This discussion of how practices centred around cutting and dismemberment worked to produce the animal body in antiquity only begins to explore the rich theme of the

relationship between animality and fragmentation. Other ways in which bodies are divided include such things as the ancient portrait bust, which provided a normative representation of the human body in pieces. Enough has been said, however, to indicate that certain strands of discourse about human-animal boundaries – like sacrifice, ‘scientific’ anatomical dissection and hunting – persistently showed corporeal integrity as a defining quality of humanness. Seen in this light, the classical hybrid bodies discussed in this chapter take on a new significance. Since they presented both human and animal bodies as (equally) fragmented, the hybrids’ anatomies collapsed the distance between human and animal bodies that other sources sought so hard to create and maintain. This complicates our first impression of the classical hybrid body as one which preserves the ‘original’ shape, colour and texture of its human and animal parts, reinforcing rather than transgressing the boundary between these bodies. Paradoxically, it is the classical hybrid’s preservation of the *anatomical* distinctiveness of animal and human that threatens to close the *cultural* distance between the two ontological categories.

Conclusion

In his *Book of Imaginary Beings*, Jorge Luis Borges remarks of the classical centaur: “‘Biform’ it is called in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, but its heterogeneous character is easily overlooked, and we tend to think that in the Platonic world of ideas there is an archetype of the Centaur as there is of the horse or the man” (Borges 1974: 37). This chapter has attempted to retrieve something of the strangeness of the classical hybrid by focusing in on its anomalous body, and comparing it with divergent models of hybridity in other, more recent periods. Unlike the contemporary hybrid, whose body resists (re)partition, the classical hybrid has been revealed as an inherently unstable compound, whose potential for easy disaggregation is explored by ancient artists and authors. Moreover, I have suggested here that these different anatomical models respond to different beliefs about where the boundary between human and animal is most permeable. While Piccinini’s deformed creations dramatise contemporary anxieties about human-animal transgenics and the fusion of human and animal at the stage of the zygote, the partible anatomy of the classical hybrid is best understood in relation to the insistent connections made in ancient thought between animality and fragmentation. In Graeco-Roman culture, humanity ended where the knife-blade began; thus, while the constituent parts of the classical hybrid were beautiful rather than monstrous, their evocation of the ‘real’ human body-in-pieces constituted a truly terrifying spectre.

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11. Split Bodies in the Late Iron Age/Viking Age of Scandinavia

Lotte Hedeager

In recent years, a number of scholars have challenged the assumption of a bodily integrity after death (Brück 2004, 2006, Oestigaard 1999, 2000) and the ideology of individualism and personhood (Brück 2004, 2006, Chapman and Gaydarska 2007, Fowler 2001, Mansrud 2008, Strathern 1988). The body is no longer regarded as an autonomous entity with an impermeable boundary and stable core according to our modern Western perception of individuality and bodily integrity (Brück 2004: 310, Sofaer 2006). A range of analyses of activities associated with prehistoric settlements, hoards, and burial sites have focused on the deliberate fragmentation of human and animal bodies as well as objects (Brück 2004, 2006, Chapman and Gaydarska 2007, Chapman in this volume, Jones 1998).

In Scandinavia similar processes of deliberate fragmentation can be observed. Iron Age funerary rites in this area generally involved a fragmentation of the human body, not only through the process of burning but also in the treatment of the burnt remains. The bones are smashed and only a fraction of the cremated bones were kept for the burial deposition, while, one way or another, the remaining part appears to have been redistributed (Gansum 2004, Kaliff 1997, Kaliff and Oestigaard 2004, Oestigaard 2007). In some cases skeletal remains were removed from cemeteries shortly after the burial. Archaeologically those graves have been described as ‘robbed’, although it is equally possible that the skeletal remains might have been deliberately removed.

Thus, in the Scandinavian Iron Age, the end of a human lifecycle did not necessarily involve the maintenance of bodily integrity. Through a process of deconstruction, skeleton remains achieved an afterlife and thus outlived the living person in a variety of contexts. Bodily remains were imbued with agency and a biography of their own; a well-known example of this from a later period is the use of skeletal remains as relicts in a Medieval Christian context (Brown 1988, Geary 1978). The perception of a split bodily capacity, however, had a counterpart in religious iconography from the Iron Age.

The iconographic articulation of bodily parts

A concern with bodily fluidity and bodily transformations can be detected in Old Norse Germanic and Scandinavian artistic representations. For instance, a common motif on the gold-bracteates from the Migration Period is the image of a human head in bird’s disguise ‘riding’ a large animal, which itself is a combination of different species like horse, moose,

and goat. It has antlers and a beard; it is an ambler as it is always shown in movement (Fig. 11.1).

From the Migration period (400 AD) to the Viking Age (around 1000 AD) depictions of hybrid human-animals are attached to an elite milieu of Northern Europe (Fig. 11.2). Here we actually *see* metamorphorical representations of humans and animals. On the helmet plates from one of the boat-graves in Vendel, central Sweden, one of the depicted warriors quite obviously has a wild boar head (Fig. 11.3). On a belt buckle from the Norwegian Åker complex, a man, crowned as a king, has human head and hair, whereas his arms and legs are in the form of two wild boars (Fig. 11.4). A boar-warrior and another person (probably a woman) in bird guise are depicted on the tapestry from the Norwegian Oseberg ship-grave (Fig. 11.5).



Fig. 11.1: Scandinavian gold-bracteates from the Migration period from a: Scania, Sweden, b: Funen, Denmark (after Steenstrup 1893: Tab. IV, 22; Tab. II, 25)

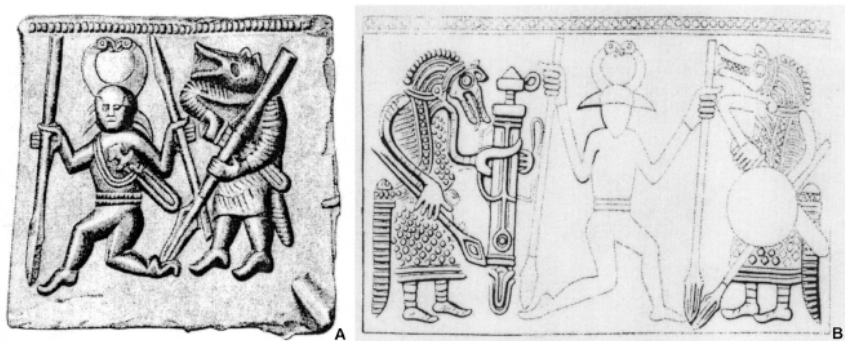


Fig. 11.2: Men in animal disguise from a: the Torslunda stamp, Sweden (after Arbman 1980), b: sword sheath from Gutenstein, Germany (after Böhner 1991: 38)

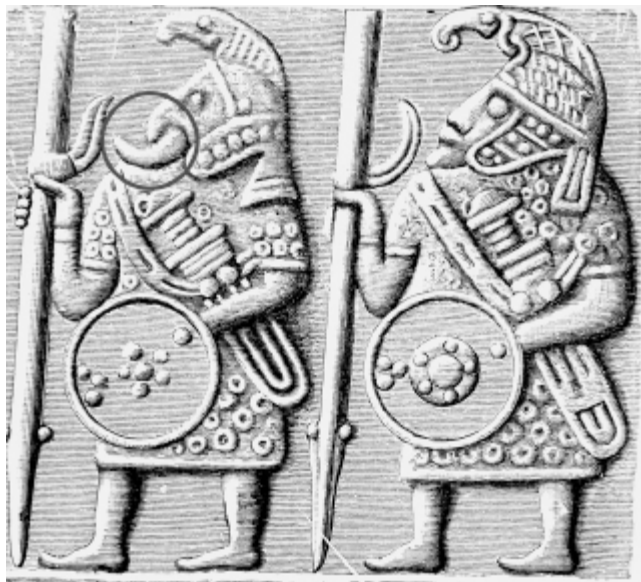


Fig. 11.3: Helmet plate from Vendel, Sweden, boatgrave XIV (after Stolpe and Arne 1912)



Fig. 11.4: Belt-buckle from Åker, Norway (after Gustafson 1906)

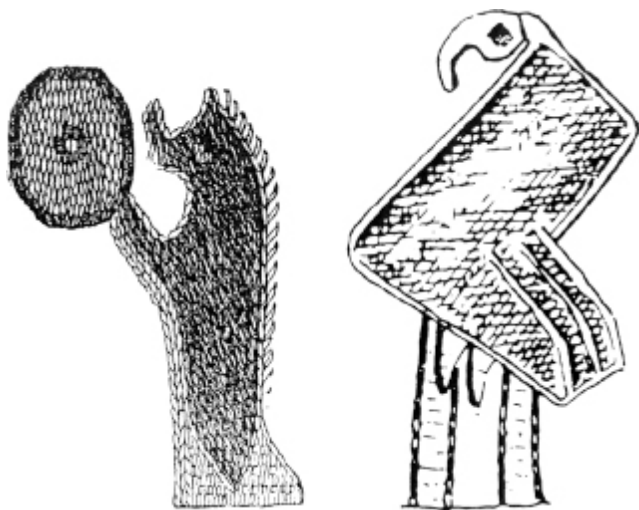


Fig. 11.5: Boar-warrior and a woman in bird guise from the Viking shipgrave, Oseberg, Norway (after Brøgger, Falk and Shetelig 1917)

On closer inspection, in these representations the body itself has different constituting elements, and changes in the balance of these may alter the definition of the person – a boar-tusk, a wolf-head, a bird's head, legs as boar-heads, bird-wings. For example, a boar-tusk is enough to transform a person from a man to a hybrid embodiment. Hands and feet especially are diagnostic elements of the human body, and added, for instance, to a wolf (Fig. 11.2), those elements transform the wolf to a hybrid embodiment. Together with hair and head they indicate humanness. The small gold-foil images from the late Iron Age, which date from the 6th to the 9th century, demonstrate those diagnostic features (Fig. 11.6). Here, hand, feet and hair are meticulously depicted, along with the garments and other significant objects. However, the face looks like a mask. One is left with the impression that the person as a conceptual category has been socially and culturally redefined as a 'dressed animal', as illustrated (Fig. 11.7) where two 'similar' embodiments are perceived as man and wolf, respectively. Thus, Norse figurative art presents humans and animals side by side. This is fundamentally different from the Christian belief that humans were created in God's image and as such fundamentally different from all other living things (Ferguson 1961, Flores 1996, Ingold 1994, 2000).

In 747, on a Christian mission among the pagan Saxons in Germany, St. Boniface wrote a letter to Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, in which he condemned the Saxons' foolish superstitions in dress, in particular the use of broad edgings with figures woven into them, well known from archaeological dress textiles (Fig. 11.8): "...those ornaments shaped like worms, teeming on the borders of ecclesiastical vestments; they announce Antichrist and are introduced by his guile and through his ministers in the monasteries to induce lechery, depravation, shameful deeds, and disgust for study and prayer" (M.G.H., *Epistolae* III: 355. cited from Speake 1980: 91). No doubt, these animals and ribbon ornaments, well known in the archaeological record as 'animal styles' from the 5th century onwards, were much more than decorative details. On the contrary, they were imbued with cosmological memory. The role of the animal styles as an inseparable part of the Pre-Christian material culture, not least in connection with the elite classes, implies that the animals also had a corresponding

central position in the cosmological perception of the world (Gaimster 1998, Glosecki 2000, Hedeager 1999, 2004, 2005, Jakobsson 1999, 2003, Kristoffersen 1995, 2000a, 2000b, Lindstrøm and Kristoffersen 2001, Magnus 2001, 2002).



Fig. 11.6: Gold foil figure from Sorte Muld, Bornholm, Denmark (after Watt 2004: 174)



Fig. 11.7: Gold foil figure from Sorte Muld, Bornholm, Denmark (after Watt 2004: 211) and sword sheath from Gutenstein, Germany (after Böhner 1991)

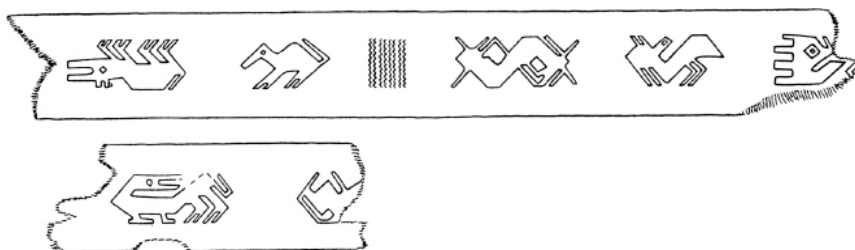


Fig. 11.8: Tunic band from Evebø Eide, Norway (after Dedekam 1925)



Fig. 11.9: Examples of Nordic animal style; a: Relief brooch, Vedstrup, Zealand, Denmark (after Müller 1880); b: Shield-buckle mount from Vendel, Sweden (after Stolpe and Arne 1912)

The Nordic – and Germanic – animal ornamentation belong to a multifaceted repertoire of animal motifs: whole and half, small and large, fragmented and anatomically complete animals are found along with animal heads without bodies and bodies without heads (Haseloff 1981, Salin 1904; Fig. 11.9). Such complex artistic representations express a reality that is more revealing and more ambiguous than a naturalistic representation ever could. Species are created that cut across all categories by transgressing the boundaries of what is considered ‘natural’ (Ingold 2000: 130, Morphy 1989: 5). To this complexity are attached human representations. Human bodies are also reproduced split into pieces (Fig. 11.10), and human faces are part of the animal representations (Fig. 9a, 11): bodies with human heads, human faces as part of a bird of prey, normally as the thigh (Fig. 11.12), or a beast of prey (Fig. 11.13). On the embossed foil band on a ritual beaker from Uppåkra in southern Sweden (Hårdh 2004, Larsson 2007) (Fig. 11.14), and on two drinking horns from Söderby Karl in Sweden (Fig. 11.15), the human body is subjected to the same disorder and fragmentation as the animal body. Also, on the Lombard gold-blade crosses from the 7th century, as well as on some Vendel-style objects, humans are depicted with animal parts

(Fig. 11.16 a and b) like on the Åker belt-buckle (Fig. 11.4), or deliberately as animals (Fig. 11.17).

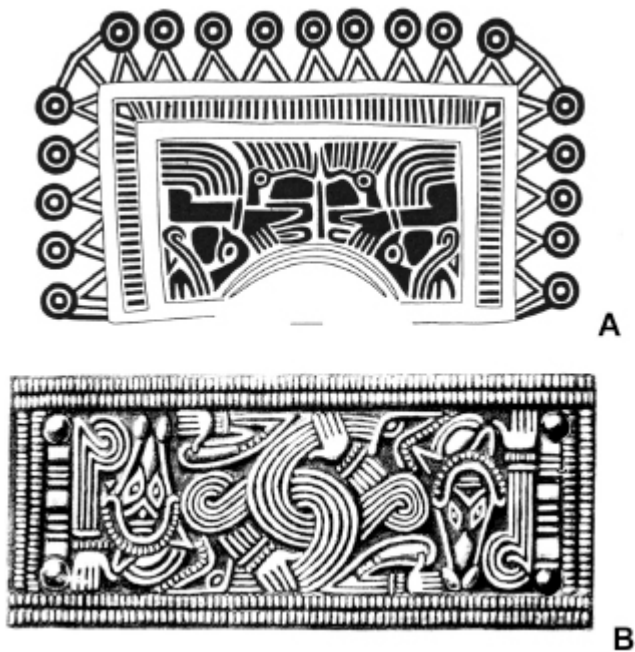


Fig. 11.10: a: Detail from the Kirchheim brooch, Germany (after Haseloff 1981); b: mounting from Söderby Karl, Sweden (after Holmqvist 1951)

The semantic potential of the animal iconography is complex, multi-dimensional and ambiguous. The renderings do not only erase the boundaries between animal species, but also the boundaries between animals and humans. Human bodies are fragmented and cut/split into pieces, or they are dislocated to fit the metrics of the animal compositions.



Fig. 11.11: Bridle-mount from Denmark (after Müller 1880)



Fig. 11.12: Bronze bird (from the front of a shield?), Gl.Skørping, Denmark (after Ørsnes 1966)



Fig. 11.13: Sword-pommel from Vesilahti, Kirmukarmu, Finland (after Magnus 1999)



Fig. 11.14: Embossed foil band from the Uppåkra-beaker (after Hårdh 2004)



Fig. 11.15: Mounting from Söderby Karl, Sweden (after Holmqvist 1951)

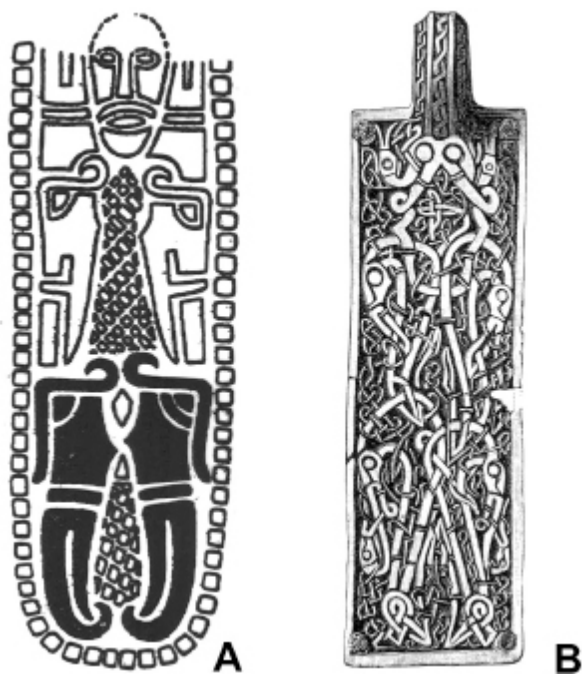


Fig. 11.16: a: Part of Lombard gold-blade cross, Wurmlingen, Germany (after Haseloff 1956); b: Similar composition on mounting from Vendel, grave I, Sweden (after Stolpe and Arne 1912)



Fig. 11.17: Ornamentation on a Lombard gold-blade cross, San Stefano grave 11–12, Patrica i Cividale, Italien (after Haseloff 1970)

The artistic complexity and the artistic continuity that characterise the Nordic animal styles (*i.e.* Haseloff 1981, 1984, Høilund Nielsen and Kristoffersen 2002, Roth 1979, 1986, Salin 1904) and their affiliation to an elite milieu throughout the entire Iron Age and Viking Age, speak about their cultural significance. Their complexity suggests that they are based on an overriding abstract principle, which reflects the physical order of the universe (Kristoffersen 1995, 2000a, 2000b, Roe 1995: 58). But what kind of order are we facing? Is it possible to understand it?

In many traditional societies, past and present, the self is regarded as an amalgamation of elements and capacities that involve animals. At the same time the body is fluid and in a continual process of formation and transformation. The artistic articulation of Norse religious cosmology illustrates such a perception of fluidity and transformation. However, the written evidence of the early Middle Ages adds a unique dimension to their interpretation. The corpus of Old Norse texts provides a glimpse of pre-Christian and early medieval belief-systems and cosmology in Scandinavia, including body and self. They are expressed in the concepts of *hugr*, *hamingja*, and *fylgjur*.

Hugr – Hamingja – Fylgjur

As a recurring theme in the Old Norse texts we find the idea of the ‘spirit’ that can leave the body in either human or animal form. *Hugr* is able to leave the body, either in the disguise of a human being or an animal (Davidson 1978). This *hugr* is best described as ‘thought’, wish, desire, or direct personality. It indicates an Old Norse ‘soul faith’ [sjæletrø] where every person can own/possess several ‘souls’. *Hugr* only becomes visible when a person is in a certain state of mind, and this is beyond human control (Mundal 1974: 42). In the disguise of an animal the *hugr* reveals the moral quality of its ‘owner’, exposing his or her intentions (Raudvere 2003: 71).

This dualistic nature of humankind is most clearly articulated in words like *fylgjur* and *hamingja*. *Fylgja* (the plural *fylgjur*) refers to a sort of ‘doppelganger’ or *alter ego*, which attaches itself to a person, often at birth, and remains with that person throughout the entire life. After death the *fylgja* may transfer to another person within the family (Glosecki 1989: 186, Orchard 2002: 122, Simek 1993: 96). The *fylgja* appears in the shape of an animal or a woman, and usually it is only visible in times of crisis when it can act on its own – instead of the person. It can be seen in dreams or awake, either to the specific person or to others (Morris 1991: 120–122). The *fylgja* can best be understood as an externalised soul, although the Christian concept of ‘soul’ had no relevance to people in the Old Norse world. Rather it was the embodiment of personal luck, and bound by a belief in destiny. It shared many similarities to *hamingja* (Orchard 2002: 122, Simek 1993: 96).

Hamingja is the embodiment of the good fortune of the family and it passes on from one family member to the next. In contrast to the *fylgja*, the *hamingja* can also be transferred to someone outside the family when a person dies (Orchard 2002: 129, Simek 1993: 129). But there seems to be a second meaning to *hamingja* as well. *Hamr*, which also means ‘skin’ or ‘animal clothing’, can be perceived as the interim shape of a person’s *hugr*, obtained through *hamhleypa*, *i.e.* shape changing, which often takes the disguise of an animal or a woman (Simek 1993: 129). Usually the ‘free soul’ will appear in the shape of a bird, but also as a bear, wolf or whale – or a stately woman (Glosecki 1989: 184). The more powerful the animal/woman the more it is likely to triumph over other free and hostile spirits. When, during shape-shifting, the human *hugr* transforms into an animal (or a woman), that person *becomes* this animal (or woman) and crosses over to the Other World while the physical

body lies still, just like when it is asleep or dead. The human spirit takes on its animal guise and becomes animated – the human becomes animal and the animal human.

Thus, both *fylgja* and *hamr* could take on a physical shape outside the body (Raudvere 2003: 71). The main difference seems to be that a person's *hugr*, through shape changing, can materialise in different animal disguises, while the *fylgja* is an immutable symbolic expression of the person's moral qualities. It materialises as a particular 'helping spirit' in animal shape (Raudvere 2001: 102–103, 2003: 71). Thereby the animal *fylgja* is an extrasomatic soul, supplementary to the 'body soul', i.e. an *alter ego* in animal disguise and belonging solely to the immaterial world (Mundal 1974: 42–43). In Norse religion both *fylgja* and *hamr* were perceived literally. Although spiritual, they were most real – the animals (or the women) were at the same time spiritual and embodied, as they were alternative ways of being that endowed their 'owner' with transcendental reality.

'Not of one shape'

The written evidence of the sagas and the *Edda* confirms that certain people – and gods – manifested themselves in animal form, literally becoming embodied in animals. The words *hugr* – *hamr* – *fylgja* testify to the specific Nordic belief in a spiritual world of assistant animals and followers. When a man was gifted with supernatural powers, he was called *hamrammr* – or shapestrong, or he might be described as *eigi einhamr* – 'not of one shape', suggesting that he or she had the potential to change shapes. The term *hamfarir*, which means 'shape-journey', is used to express a shamanistic practice when the spirit is travelling in animal form while the human body rests in a sleep or trance (Morris 1991: 98). No doubt shape changing and metamorphosis were regarded as natural things – nothing to be questioned. It was fully accepted and clearly attested that the body could exist beyond the boundary of the skin, i.e. in another's skin or fur. In the 13th century this was still regarded as a fact of nature. Intellectuals, religious leaders, and ordinary people – all were fascinated by change as an ontological problem: the fundamental fact that one entity could be replaced by something completely different (Bynum 2001).

In Scandinavia, some men and women, imbued with supernatural powers, could transform themselves into animals like the pagan gods Odin, Freyja and Loki, and animals were an integral part of the cosmic world. Many animals were thought to have supernatural powers (such as the snake, the bear, the wolf and the boar) and many were consulted for information by observing the movements of, for example, specific horses or birds (i.e. Tacitus: *Germania* 10). Animals were an integral component of the cosmological world of the Old Norse religion because they possessed knowledge of nature and conveyed it to humans and gods.

In other words, animals were constantly acting in the same world as humans and gods. Humans transgressing the bodily boundaries and becoming animals were not considered unnatural, just slightly unusual. This leads to the inevitable conclusion that the modern Western contradiction between humans and animals might have had little or no relevance as structuring principles in Old Norse religion and society. Instead, humans and animals co-existed within a much broader and more fluid cosmological system (Fowler 2004). Not least the hybrid bodies are one of the clearest indications that we need to challenge our ontological assumptions in regard to the naturalness of boundaries between humans and animals. They were not absolute opposites (Meskell and Joyce 2003: 88) and the human body no objective physical and biological entity. Fluidity, hybridity and metamorphosis were considered as simple facts of Nature. In this process, the body parts were integrated in

animal wholes to indicate ambiguity and shape shift. This illustrates the Old Norse saying “a person not of one shape”. The deliberate fragmentation of the human skeletal material from burials might be understood in the same way. The body-parts had an afterlife of their own, exceeding the person’s death and burial. Apparently they were integrated in a much wider social whole.

Conclusion

The material and written evidence from the Scandinavian Iron Age provides us with a holistic view of bodily fluidity and relational identity. According to this cosmology, the self was fluid and fragmented, in a constant and potential process of transformation. Body and self were both separated and integrated in various constellations. In this perception of the world, the sum of all parts constituted a much larger reality than the body as a single physical and personal entity.

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12. Heart burial in medieval and early post-medieval Central Europe

Estella Weiss-Krejci

Introduction

Born out of the idea of resurrection of the dead with their own bodies, until the 19th century the ideal burial mode in Christianised Europe was the deposition of the whole, fleshed body. Yet there were also alternative ways of thinking about and treating the human corpse: already Augustine had criticised the doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh (Frederiksen 1991) and practical interactions with the dead also stood in contrast to popular sensibilities regarding the integrity of the corpse. For instance, it was quite common practice to remove bones from the graveyards and redeposit them in charnel houses (Legner 1989: 33–42), while embalming and the extraction of the inner organs were also common forms of mortuary behaviour among the upper strata of society (Brown 1981; Owens 2005: 204). Body processing and the division of the corpse allowed for separate burial of body parts. Since individuals of political importance were often subject to this practice, the political quality of the body (Kantorowicz 1957; Sheper-Hughes and Lock 1987; Verdery 1999) became more important than the individual. The physically fragmented body could serve as a metaphor for political and social conditions. In their ability to represent different but connected aspects, the parts of the corpse together – often buried in different territories or in different religious houses – confirmed the integrated quality of all its elements. Each part had the potential to represent the dead in a special way. In this chapter I will focus on heart burials as a particular version of this manner of dividing the dead body into different parts. I will discuss the development in Central Europe but also make a few comparisons with medieval England, as this area recently has been the subject of new work (Westerhof 2005, 2008).

Processing the corpse after death is of considerable antiquity and was practised in many parts of the world (see Aufderheide 2003). In medieval Europe, the practice may have originally developed out of a necessity to delay putrefaction and preserve corpses for transport over long distances and extended time periods. Simple forms of embalming, which involved applying ointments to the body, were probably already used in the 7th century in the treatment of the corpses of Merovingian kings (Bradford 1933: 21–22). More efficient procedures, such as the disembowelment (evisceration or exenteration) of corpses began to be practised in the Frankish empire in the 8th and 9th centuries (Schäfer 1920: 493; Arens 1958: 43); although it only became standard practice in the Holy Roman Empire

between the late 10th and 11th centuries, during the reign of the emperors from the Ottonian and Salian dynasties (Schäfer 1920; Erlande-Brandenburg 1975; Weiss-Krejci 2005; Westerhof 2005: 37, 2008). In the 12th century, defleshing by boiling (exarnation, also known as *mos teutonicus*) became quite common since at this time highranking warriors often died in Southern Europe and in the Holy Land. Burial in heathen and foreign territories was not desirable and medieval aristocrats usually had burial places assigned before death. Their dead bodies could be brought back from the Mediterranean to Central Europe only in a defleshed state (Schäfer 1920; Weiss-Krejci 2001: 771; 2005: 164; 2008). Despite being prohibited by the Pope in 1299 and again in 1300, both evisceration and exarnation endured (Brown 1981), although defleshing fell out of fashion in the first half of the 15th century. In the Middle Ages it was the priests or monks tending the dying who often processed their corpses, and by the 15th century doctors regularly conducted the procedures (Dodson 1994: 73; Senfelder 1898: 26–28; Wendehorst 1978: 48).

Originally, when bodies were processed the inner organs were buried at the place of death or wherever the corpse had been treated (Weiss-Krejci 2001: 771). It is therefore interesting that in the Middle Ages clear exceptions to this general trend developed. The extraction of the inner organs and the separate burial of the heart and intestines was a hallmark of English and French aristocratic mortuary behaviour from the 12th century onwards. It is worth noting that the English often quickly discarded the viscera close to the site of corpse treatment, whereas the French treated them with great respect. The English aristocracy generally favoured a double interment (one for the body, the other for the heart), while French aristocracy often requested that their corpses be buried in three separate places (body, heart and entrails) (Westerhof 2008: 81). With a few exceptions in the German-speaking area of the Holy Roman Empire, in the Middle Ages the separate burial of the heart was traditional only amongst the prince-bishops of Würzburg. In this case, the body was divided into three parts: the corpse was usually sent to Würzburg cathedral, the intestines to the castle church of Marienberg (Würzburg), and the heart to the monastery of Ebrach. At Würzburg this separation fulfilled a symbolic purpose; whereas elsewhere in German-speaking Europe body processing and the separate deposition of inner organs remained predominantly functional until the end of the Middle Ages. To remove the inner organs for non-practical reasons and bury them in separate places first became a frequent procedure during the late 16th century, with heart burial appearing during the 17th century.

What is a heart burial?

In post-medieval times, body processing usually involved cutting open the thorax and the skull, but more evidence is needed to make the case for the Middle Ages (e.g. Mafart *et al.* 2004). The most common Latin terms by which the chroniclers at the time refer to body processing are *condire* (= to embalm), *exenterare* (= to exenterate), *solvere visceribus* (= to free up the entrails), *coquere carnem* (= to boil the flesh) and *extrahere ossa* (= to extract the bones). The internal organs are usually called *exta*, *viscera*, *intestina*, *praecordia* or *vitalia*. Some texts specifically refer to viscera and flesh (*carnes et viscera*, Knipping 1901: 160), viscera and brains (*cum cerebro et visceribus*, Schäfer 1920: 479), and inner organs and the heart (*viscera corque* and *cor et vitalia*, Giesey 1920: 20; Seeliger-Zeiss 1981: 84). Hence, it is not always possible to state with certainty how corpses were treated (e.g. George 2006), precisely which inner organs were removed and whether the removal of the inner organs (*viscera*, *exta*, *vitalia*) automatically implied the removal of the heart (*cor*). Contemporary historic sources, inscriptions on grave slabs and visual representations on

epitaphs often contain divergent information and care is needed when researching these types of burials.

In my definition of a heart burial, the heart must be deposited *without* other inner organs and in a *different physical location* to the corpse. I therefore exclude those instances in which hearts were placed in separate containers but nevertheless buried close to the corpse or buried in the same location as the intestines. This practice was particularly common in the 16th and 17th centuries: for instance, two peculiar 16th century church epitaphs, one from Vaihingen (Petrus Trutwin, d. 1521), and the other from St Stephen's Mainz (Count Gottfried of Dietz, d. 1522) contain small square niches covered by little doors. The niches may have been the deposition places for the hearts of the deceased whose corpses were buried in the church crypts (Arens 1958: 541; Seeliger-Zeiss and Schäfer 1986: 147). The heart of Empress Maria Leopoldine – who died in 1649 in Vienna – was buried in her coffin at the city's Capuchin Vault: the inscription on the urn lid tells us that the silver vessel contains her heart (Hawlik-van de Water 1993: 98, Timmermann 1996: 4).

I also include only those instances where the heart burial seems to serve a symbolic rather than a functional purpose. Thus I would exclude the example of Emperor Frederick III, who died in 1493 in Linz. Frederick was eviscerated so that his corpse could be transported to Vienna: we know this because on the day after his death, Frederick's son Maximilian received reports that the corpse had been eviscerated “for sake of perceptible exigence” (*umb merklich notturfft willen*) (Lipburger 1997: 131). Another source states that the Emperor's viscera were buried in the Parish Church of Linz (*visceribus in templo Lincio*, Meyer 2000: 178). The marble grave slab in the church mentions not only intestines but also the heart (*Intestina cubant Friderici hac Caesaris urna/Et cor*). Since the only reason to eviscerate was apparently ‘exigence’, and since the heart was buried with the intestines in the city where the emperor had died, I hesitate to consider this a ‘true’ heart burial.

It is important to note in relation to my definition that it is not always possible to establish whether the heart is buried with the other inner organs. Artists sometimes only depicted hearts on epitaphs even when all the inner organs were buried together. We can take the example of Johann Heinrich Stattfeld, Abbot of St Lambrecht (Austria) who died in Piber, Styria in 1639. The abbot's inner organs were buried at Piber. The gravestone in Figure 12.1 only depicts a heart; however, the Latin inscription on the monument refers to the inner organs generally (*partes interiores*). The abbot's evisceration was a necessity as the corpse had to be transported across the mountains to St Lambrecht abbey. According to a folk tale a second carriage, filled with dry brushwood that could be ignited at any time, was brought along as a precautionary measure against attacking wolves (Lasnik 1982: 269–270).

Historians and writers also efface the real range of different types of visceral depositions through their focus on the heart (e.g. Dietz 1998). For instance, *The Handbook of Ecclesiastical Art and Archaeology of the Middle Ages* (Otte 1883: 351) states that the heart of St Boniface (who was murdered by the Frisians in AD 754) was buried at Mainz; whereas a 14th century copy of an even older tombstone in the church of St John in Mainz states that [all] the inner organs (*exta*) were buried there (Arens 1958: 44).

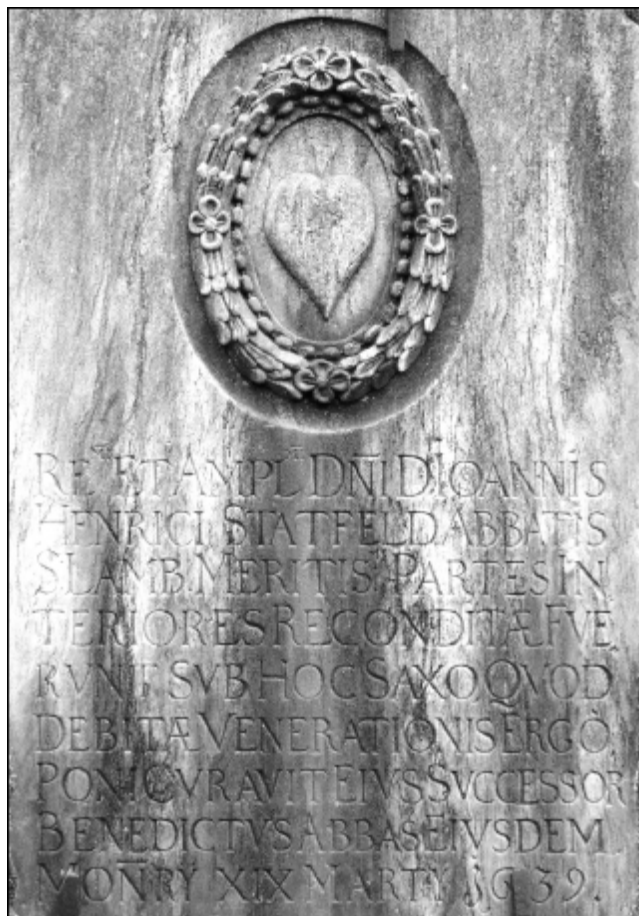


Fig. 12.1: Gravestone for the interior organs of Johann Heinrich Stattfeld, Abbot of St Lambert (d. 1639), Piber, Austria (© Estella Weiss-Krejci)

This difficulty aside, my emphasis on the separation of the heart from the rest of the viscera reveals some interesting trends in heart burial practices. The distinction between the heart and the intestines became important to certain groups of people at certain points in time, for example to the medieval Würzburg prince-bishops, and the Habsburgs of the 17th and 18th centuries. Even when there was no functional necessity to preserve a corpse for transport or storage, some groups started to divide the body into different parts and bury the dead in three separate churches, sometimes shipping hearts over hundreds of kilometres. This burial rite is notably different from the tradition of burying heart and intestines together, as was practised, for example, by the post-medieval popes of Rome (church SS Vincenzo e Anastasio, Rome), and in the postmedieval Portuguese House of Bragança (S Vicente de Fora, Lisbon, Fig. 12.2). I think that the absence of the development of post-medieval separation of the heart from the intestines in these specific cases is connected to the lack of a widespread Reformation and Counter-Reformation movement or to the lack of territorial fragmentation.

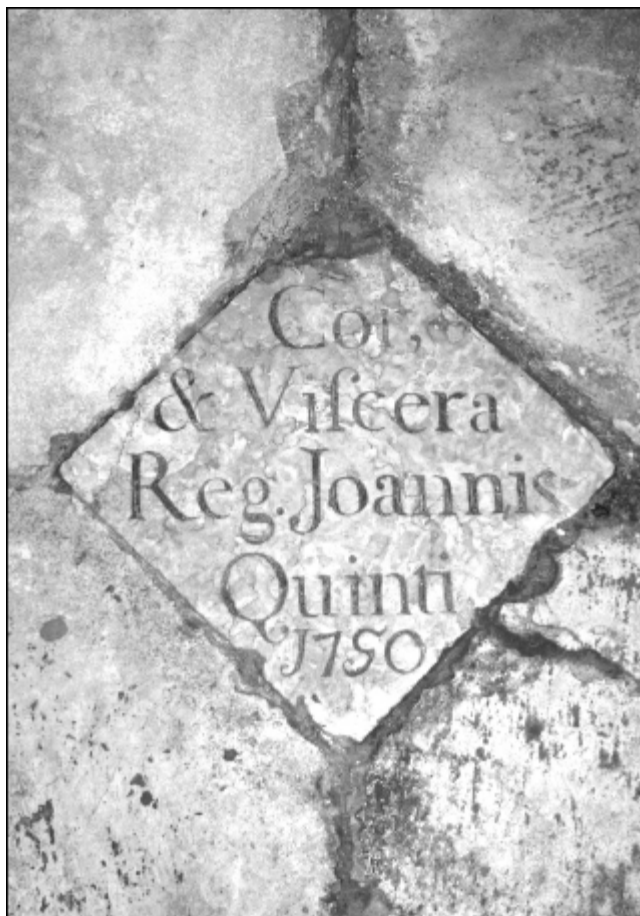


Fig. 12.2: Floor tile covering the heart and intestines of João V of Portugal (d. 1750), Chapel of the Meninos de Palhavã, São Vicente de Fora, Lisbon, Portugal (© Estella Weiss-Krejci)

A database of processed corpses

In order to better demonstrate the history of separation of the corpse and heart burial in Central Europe, I have compiled a list of individuals whose corpse was eviscerated, defleshed or otherwise processed in a similar manner. The majority of these are natives of the German-speaking part of the Holy Roman Empire and its successor states after the dissolution in 1806. The sample includes emperors, kings, queens and their children, princes, dukes, counts, lower nobles, archbishops, bishops, abbots, priests and a few commoners. A minor fraction is made up of foreigners who died in the old Empire and who were treated within its borders. It also includes natives of the Holy Roman Empire who died abroad such as Crusaders and a few royal women who had married into foreign dynasties but whose bodies or hearts were brought back to their homeland for burial.

The register in Figure 12.3 contains 339 individuals whose corpses have been treated in the relevant manner. The earliest eviscerated individual in the sample is Holy Roman

Emperor Otto I (973); the latest is the Austrian Empress Zita who died in 1989. In the following I will predominantly concentrate on developments from the end of the first millennium to the end of the 17th century.

Time period	Type of body treatment			Gender		> 12 years	Age ≤ 12 years	Total treated
	eviscerated	<i>mos teutonicus</i>	other	male	female			
973–1000	2	-	1	3	-	3	-	3
1001–1100	6	-	1	6	1	7	-	7
1101–1200	6	14	2	22	-	22	-	22
1201–1300	4	6	2	11	1	12	-	12
1301–1400	8	2	1	11	-	11	-	11
1401–1500	12	-	-	11	1	12	-	12
1501–1600	27	-	-	25	2	27	-	27
1601–1700	88	-	-	66	22	80	8	88
1701–1800	88	-	-	61	27	78	10	88
1801–1900	62	-	-	35	27	57	5	62
1901–1989	7	-	-	4	3	7	-	7
Total	310	22	7	255	84	316	23	339

Fig. 12.3: Register with 339 individuals whose corpses have been treated throughout the course of one millennium.

The beginning of separate burial of inner organs in Europe (973–1400)

The first chronicler to mention the separate burial of inner organs is Thietmar, bishop of Merseburg (975–1018). According to Thietmar, the viscera of Emperor Otto I (d. 973 at Memleben) as well as those of Walthard, Archbishop of Magdeburg (d. 1012 at Giebichenstein) were buried at the places of death (Thietmar of Merseburg: II, 43 and VI, 73); the intestines of Emperor Otto III (d. 1002 near Viterbo) were brought all the way from Italy to Augsburg in two containers while the corpse was transported further to Aachen (Thietmar of Merseburg: IV, 51); the viscera of Thietmar’s cousin, margrave Werner of Walbeck (d.1014 at Allerstedt) were buried at Helfta near Eisleben (Thietmar of Merseburg: VII,7). In all four instances the inner organs were buried earlier, and in different locations to the corpse. In no instance does Thietmar make any mention of the hearts.

Explicit evidence for the deposition of viscera together with the heart exists for the second part of the 11th century. Emperor Henry III (d.1056) wished his entrails and heart to be buried at his foundation in Goslar (St Simeon and Judas), where his daughter Mathilda rested (*cor suum cum precordiis apud filiam suam*, Schäfer 1920: 481). However, Henry’s is not a true heart burial: although the Emperor’s heart and entrails were transported to Goslar, the heart was not singled out for separate burial but was buried together with the intestines. All of the ten people in my sample who were processed between 973 and 1100 were transported from their place of death to their place of burial. With the exception of Henry III, hearts are never mentioned. That heart burial had not yet become a popular practice in the 11th century also holds true beyond the borders of the Holy Roman Empire. Though the inner organs and the heart of the Norman duke Robert Guiscard (d. 1085) were extracted and buried separately from the corpse in Sicily (Giesey 1960: 20), the motivation for this procedure seems rather functional. According to the *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi V*, Guiscard had died in Greece. As his body was being brought back to Italy, a storm hit the ship, washing the corpse overboard. After it had been recovered, it rapidly started to decay. Robert’s wife therefore decided to remove the heart and entrails (*viscera corque*) and bury

them at Otranto while the rest of the body was carried to the family burial site at Venosa (William of Apulia: V).

It was in 12th century France and England that the heart began to receive separate burial, not only from the corpse but also from the intestines (Bradford 1933; Brown 1981: 228; Gilchrist and Sloane 2005: 160; Westerhof 2005, 2008). Hearts were either buried at the place of death, where the body was usually treated, or they were brought to separate, sometimes distant burial locations. The heart of Robert of Arbrissel (d. 1117) was interred at Orsan, the place of his death (Brown 1981: 228); the heart of Pope Calixtus II (d. 1124) was brought to the abbey of Cîteaux (Gajewski 2005: 57). The heart of St Lawrence O’Toole, archbishop of Dublin, who died and was buried in Normandy in 1180, was buried at Christ Church Cathedral in Dublin, reputedly fifty years after his death and five years after his canonisation (Kinsella 2003: 21). Richard ‘the Lion-Heart’ (d. 1199 at Chalus) requested that his body be buried at Fontevrault and his heart at Rouen. Meanwhile, he willed his brain, blood and viscera to the treacherous town of Charroux (Brown 1981: 228; Giesey 1960: 20; Schäfer 1920: 496). After being banned by the Pope in 1299 and 1300, the number of heart burials in England declined. In France, however, the difficulty in gaining papal permission made division of the corpse an even more desirable practice (Brown 1981: 253; Westerhof 2008: 90).

Time period	Total of persons treated = 100%	Corpse transported / %	Heart transported / %	‘True’ heart burials / %	Tripartite burial of corpse / %
973–1000	3	3/100%	- /0%	- /0%	- /0%
1001–1100	7	7/100%	- /0%	- /0%	- /0%
1101–1200	22	18/82%	2/9%	2/9%	1/5%
1201–1300	12	9/75%	1/8%	2/17%	- /0%
1301–1400	11	6/55%	1/9%	2/18%	- /0%
1401–1500	12	9/75%	2/17%	4/33%	2/17%
1501–1600	27	16/59%	7/26%	9/33%	5/19%
1601–1700	88	26/30%	29/33%	47/53%	16/18%

Fig. 12.4: Relationship between body processing, transportation of corpse and heart, heart burial and tripartition of the corpse in the Holy Roman Empire from the 10th to the 17th centuries

Body processing and heart burial in the Holy Roman Empire from the 12th to the late 16th century

During the Middle Ages the division of the corpse was much rarer in the Holy Roman Empire than in England and France. According to a study by Westerhof (2008: Appendix 1) in England, Scotland and in the French territories, which were in possession of the English kings (Angevin territories), at least 88 individuals were treated between the 12th and the 14th centuries. During the same time span only 45 individuals were processed in the Holy Roman Empire (Fig. 12.3). Whether these numbers are due to the scarcity of surviving records or reflect real conditions is difficult to assess. Figure 12.3 shows that, at least in the 12th and 13th centuries, excarnation by boiling (*mos teutonicus*) was the preferred ‘German’ body treatment (only 10 individuals were eviscerated whereas 20 were excarnated). This practice was especially common amongst warriors and Crusaders (see Weiss-Krejci 2008: 178). Additionally, a number of other types of corpse treatments (dismemberment without boiling, roasting, unspecified) were also tried out (Weiss-Krejci 2005: 163). Of the 45 treated corpses from the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries, 33 were immediately transported from their place of death to their place of burial (Fig. 12.4). Two corpses were transported at a later point in time; in two cases transport cannot be confirmed.

The remaining eight corpses were not transported. Of these, seven belong to prince-bishops of Würzburg. The prince-bishops of Würzburg are the only people in the medieval Holy Roman Empire who developed a tradition of eviscerating without necessity for long-distance corpse transport. I will discuss them at a later point.

In the 15th century 12 corpses were processed. Nine were transported after death (Fig. 12.4), two records are unclear and one corpse was not transported over a long distance (this corpse belongs to a prince-bishop of Würzburg). The number of processed corpses rises in the 16th century, while the necessity for transport slightly drops. Of 27 bodies treated in the 16th century, 16 were transported (Fig. 12.4), eight were not transported, while for three transport could not be determined with certainty. Five of the 27 corpses belong to prince-bishops of Würzburg. They were not transported over a long distance and all five received a tripartite burial (see below).

Heart burials

The Würzburg prince-bishops aside, only a few heart burials date from the period before the 17th century. These do not follow a uniform pattern and were either inspired by foreign influence or by the Würzburg tradition. One heart burial dates to the 13th century (Hademar of Kuenring), one to the 14th century (Wikbold of Holte), three date to the 15th century (James of Sierck, Nicholas of Cusa, John IV of Nassau-Dillenburg) and four to the 16th (Konrad of Rietberg, Philip the Handsome, Margaret of Habsburg, Wilhelm Werner of Zimmern). Apart from the earliest possible heart burials of two Würzburg prince-bishops, heart burials did not occur in the 12th century. Albero, Archbishop of Trier, died in Koblenz and was buried at Trier in 1152 eleven days after his death (Fuchs 2006: 292). His inner organs were transported to his foundation, the Cistercian monastery Himmerod. A tombstone which was still present in the 17th century makes reference to his heart and intestines (*Hic recondita sunt cor et exta*) (Schäfer 1920: 486). As was the case in the 11th century with Emperor Henry III, Albero's corpse had to be eviscerated in order to be transported; moreover, the heart had not been separated from the intestines.

13th century

The crusader Hademar of Kuenring (d. 1217) made a wish that if it were not possible to bring back his whole corpse to his foundation, the Cistercian monastery of Zwettl, his heart should be brought together with his right hand (*cor meum et dexteram manum*). According to Ebro, the Abbot of Zwettl (1273–1304), after Hademar had died on his way back from the Holy Land in 1217 his servants divided his body and brought back his heart, his right hand and his excarnated bones (*manum eius dexteram cum corde ..., corpusque eius excoquentes ossa*, Frast 1851: 98–99).

14th century

When Wikbold of Holte, archbishop of Cologne, died in Soest in 1304, his body was buried in the same city, his corpse at St Patrocli and his heart with the Franciscans (Kohl 1982: 425). In his lifetime, Wikbold, at that time Dean of Cologne cathedral and provost at St Mary at Aachen, had helped the English king Edward I to form an alliance with the German king Adolf of Nassau. In return for this service, Wikbold received *benefices* at Dublin cathedral, and in 1294 King Edward made him his secretary (*familiaris et secretaries*) and paid 20,000 pounds sterling for his services (Kohl 1982: 424). Wikbold's 'English style'

separation of the heart may have been inspired by his relation with the English king. The hearts of King Edward's mother Eleanor of Provence (d. 1291) and his brother (d. 1296) were buried with the London Franciscans; the heart of his first wife Eleanor of Castile (d. 1290) and son Alphonso (d. 1284) were buried with the London Dominicans (Bradford 1933: 90; Westerhof 2005: 42).

15th century

James of Sierck, Archbishop of Trier, who died in Pfalzel in 1456 is – with the exception of the prince-bishops of Würzburg – the only individual from medieval Central Europe who wished to be buried at three separate places. According to his testament he wanted his corpse to be buried at Trier cathedral, his intestines at the Benedictine monastery of Mettlach, where his father was buried, and his heart at Metz cathedral (Fuchs 2006: 513; Heyen 1972: 121; Schmid 2000: 191). Sierck had travelled widely and maintained contacts throughout Europe; his idea for burial may have been inspired either by the Würzburg tradition or by French and English acquaintances. Sierck was acquainted with Nicholas of Cusa, Bishop of Brixen (Pauly 1980: 433). Cusanus, who like Sierck had tried to impose many reforms during his lifetime, died in Todi, Italy in 1464. His body was brought to Rome for burial, while his heart was transported all the way back to Germany and deposited before the altar in the hospital church of Cues, which was his own foundation (Baum 1983: 421).

Count John IV of Nassau-Dillenburg died at Dillenburg in 1475. Since the count had inherited property in the Netherlands and served in the army of the Burgundian dukes Philip the Good (d. 1467) and Charles the Bold (d. 1477) his corpse was brought to Breda in the Netherlands. His heart was buried at Dillenburg where he had died. The inspiration for burial of the heart may have come from the Dukes of Burgundy who – as members of the French House of Valois – also practised this tradition. Although it is probable that the intestines were buried with the heart, the grave slab in the city church of Dillenburg does not make reference to the viscera. The inscription reads: 'Here lies buried his heart ...' (*hie ligt ... sin herz begraben*).

16th century

Konrad of Rietberg, bishop of Osnabrück and Münster, died at Rietberg Castle in Bevergern on February 9, 1508. It was his wish that his corpse be buried at Münster cathedral (where the funeral took place on 20 February 1508) and that his heart was buried at Osnabrück (Kohl 2003: 527; Wehking 1988: 82–83). Konrad's partition of the corpse reflects his wish to be present at both of his bishop's sees after his death.

Among members of the Habsburg family who resided in German-speaking Europe, evisceration still remained predominantly functional and associated with transport of the corpse. Meanwhile, the hearts of the Habsburgs of Western Europe received special attention. The hearts of Philip the Handsome (d. 1506 in Burgos) and his sister Margaret (d. 1530 in Mechelen) were both transported to Bruges in Flanders. However, as children of Mary of Burgundy and grandchildren of the Duke of Burgundy, Charles the Bold, this is probably better understood in the context of the Burgundian burial rites.

Wilhelm Werner, Count of Zimmern, died in 1575. After his death his corpse was buried at the family crypt at Messkirch and his heart was inserted into a leaden capsule and buried under the stair in front of the altar of the chapel at Herrenzimmern castle (Rottweil district). In 1645, while the Thirty Years' War was still raging, the heart capsule was transferred to

the Capuchin monastery of Rottweil. After the dissolution of the monastery, the heart was incorporated into the Fürstenberg collections at Donaueschingen (Seeliger-Zeiss 1986: 221–223). Zimmern was a scholar and author of several chronicles, including the chronicle of the prince-bishops of Würzburg. His idea to separately bury his heart at his castle was probably inspired by his research and the Würzburg tradition of heart burial.

The separation of the corpse among the prince-bishops of Würzburg

It is unclear at what point tripartite burial was first practised among the prince-bishops of Würzburg; neither is it clear why this rite became customary. The medieval burial rites of the prince-bishops of Würzburg are known through several sources: the earliest source is a cartulary that dates to the reign of Prince-Bishop Rudolf of Scherenberg (1466–1495) (Merzbacher 1952: 501–505). A late 16th century copy of the Würzburg chronicle by Lorenz Fries (1489–1550), and a detailed description of the funeral of Prince-Bishop Melchior Zobel of Giebelstadt, who was murdered in 1558 (Brückner 1966: 31–33), leave no doubt that separate heart burial and burial of the corpse in three places was a regular custom among the prince-bishops of Würzburg at least by the 15th and 16th centuries. Fries argues that the funeral pomp associated with the burial of the prince-bishops of Würzburg and tripartition of the corpse originated in the 12th century during the rule of Prince-Bishop Embricho (1127–1146) (Rausch 1992: 361). His book contains a brief description and two miniatures that relate to the burial of the prince-bishops (Fries: 131v, 151r). The 15th century cartulary and the funeral report of Melchior Zobel of Giebelstadt describe what happened at the death of a Würzburg prince-bishop in much greater detail. In short, the prince-bishops of Würzburg resided at Marienberg castle, which is located outside the Würzburg centre on the left bank of the Main river; it is also the place where they usually died. After evisceration of a corpse at Marienberg castle, the intestines were mixed with lime and inserted into a container. This container was then buried at the castle church (Brückner 1966: 31; Fries: 131v; Merzbacher 1952: 501). Since it was a characteristic of the Würzburg burial ritual to display the corpse in a seated position, it had to be embalmed and impaled with a rod. The heart was also embalmed and inserted into a glass jar. It was present throughout the funeral ceremony (Merzbacher 1952: 502). In order to avoid the head of the seated corpse from slumping down, an old servant had to hold it upright throughout the funeral (Brückner 1966: 32). This servant was carried around with the corpse on the bier (miniature in Fries: 151r). The embalmed corpse was transported first from Marienberg castle to the monastery of the Scots where it remained for one night. This monastery, located on the left bank of the Main river between Marienberg castle and the centre of Würzburg had been founded during Embricho's reign (Wendehorst 1962: 146). On the next day the corpse was carried over the bridge – the stone bridge was also built under Embricho (Wendehorst 1962: 148) – to the right side of the Main to the Würzburg cathedral and placed on top of the baptismal font. One day later, after a third ceremony at the monastery of Neumünster, the corpse was buried at the cathedral. During the final deposition the office bearers of the town (usually the judges) cast their wands into the grave (Merzbacher 1952: 504). Rudolf II of Scherenberg was actually buried with the shield and helmet of his family, because the line of Scherenberg had died out with him (Wendehorst 1978: 49). After the deceased prince-bishop had been laid to rest in the cathedral, his heart was brought to Ebrach abbey. This final transfer was performed by the servant who had been in charge of holding the bishop's head during the funeral: the heart was delivered on a carriage drawn by four horses (miniature in Fries: 131v; Merzbacher 1952: 505; Brückner

The origins of tripartition of the corpse among the prince-bishops of Würzburg

Burial of the heart at Ebrach abbey

Ebrach is the oldest Cistercian foundation in Franconia and the first on the east side of the Rhine River. It was settled in 1127 by monk Adam from the abbey of Morimund in Burgundy and consecrated by Prince-Bishop Embricho of Würzburg in 1134. Although some sources claim that Embricho (d. 1146) was embalmed and transported to Würzburg after he had died in Aquileia on his way back from Constantinople (*corpus eius aromatibus conditum*, Wendehorst 1962: 150), the fate of his inner organs is not known. According to the bishop's chronicle compiled in 1550 by Count Wilhelm Werner of Zimmern, the tradition of heart burial at Ebrach started with the death of Embricho's successor, Prince-Bishop Siegfried of Truhendingen (d. 1150) (Kloos 1980: 6; Wendehorst 1962: 154–155; Zimmern 1952). Siegfried's heart burial at Ebrach is also mentioned on a commemorative plaque at Ebrach, which dates to the end of the 15th century. A similar plaque, dating from the same period, states that the heart of Prince-Bishop Reginhard of Abenberg (1171–1186) was buried at Ebrach, while his intestines were buried at Marienberg castle and his corpse at Würzburg cathedral (Kloos 1980: 39). However, John Nibling's chronicle (c. 1524) claims that the earliest heart burial at Ebrach was that of Berthold II of Sternberg, who consecrated the abbey church in 1286 and died in 1287 (Kloos 1980: 6; Wendehorst 1969: 26–28). Berthold's heart sepulchre is located behind the main altar at Ebrach. Its main feature consists of two larger than life-sized figures of bishops, each holding a heart and a crozier and armed with a sword (Fig. 12.5 and 6). The inscription was probably painted in the 17th century, and is almost a word for word copy of a medieval version: it states that Berthold's heart was buried at this place (*cor iacet hac fossa*). We can therefore assume that one of the figures on the monument represents Berthold. We get no clues as to the identity of the other sculpted bishop; however, another (now lost) inscription from Ebrach suggests that it represents Berthold's successor, Manegold of Neuenburg (d. 1303) (Kloos 1980: 7–10; Wendehorst 1969: 35). The date of this monument is highly controversial. The statues were probably removed from medieval tombs in the 17th century. Wiemer (1992: 34) dates the statues to c. 1300, while Wendehorst (1969: 28) prefers a date of the early 14th century. According to Mayer they constitute 17th century copies of medieval figures (Kloos 1980: 7).



Fig. 12.5: Heart sepulchre of the prince-bishops of Würzburg at Ebrach monastery, Franconia, Germany. Engraving from Abbot Wilhelm Sölner's 'Brevia Notitia' of 1738 (Wirth 1928: Plate 24)

Between the two figures there is a vertical row of six niches (Fig. 12.5 and 6). The top two hold the hearts of Melchior Zobel of Giebelstadt (d. 1558) and Friedrich of Wirsberg (d. 1573) while the lower four niches are empty. A nowmissing copper plaque, probably made in the late 16th or early 17th century, explained that the missing heart urns were removed by the monks and buried in a secure place in order to protect them from desecration (Fig. 12.5). Their present whereabouts are unknown.

Burial of the intestines at Marienberg castle

Unfortunately, no record for the intestines of any of these early prince-bishops exists. At the castle church of Marienberg, twenty slabs commemorate bishops whose viscera were buried there between the 14th and the 18th centuries. While the bulk of these 'visceral monuments' belong to prince-bishops who died in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries (respectively five, six and six prince-bishops), only three belong to prince-bishops who had died earlier. These are Albert II of Hohenlohe, d. 1372; Gerhard of Schwarzburg, d. 1400 and Rudolf II of Scherenberg, d. 1495. Their visceral slabs are not contemporary to their deaths, but probably date to the reign of Julius Echter (d. 1617) (Borchardt *et al.* 1988: 55, 75, 163).

The corpses of these three prince-bishops were buried in the Würzburg cathedral. Although their hearts were most likely buried at Ebrach, evidence for them has disappeared.



Fig. 12.6: Heart sepulchre of the prince-bishops of Würzburg at Ebrach monastery, Franconia Germany (© Estella Weiss-Krejci)

Tripartite burial

It is possible that tripartite burial was not yet a regular practice among the prince bishops of Würzburg in the 12th and 13th centuries and that in those early days the heart did not play such an important role. Prince-Bishop Gottfried of Spitzenberg, who died in 1190 during the third Crusade in Antioch, did not ask for the return of his heart to Würzburg, but rather his hand. Unfortunately it was lost on the way (Borchardt *et al.* 1988: 12). Again, not the heart but the right arm of Würzburg Prince-Bishop Otto I. of Lobdeburg (d. 1223 probably in Würzburg) was transported to the monastery of Auhausen, the burial place of the House of Lobdeburg (Wendehorst 1962: 209).

It is most likely that tripartite burial including burial of the heart became standardised at a later point in time, in the 14th or even in the 15th century when the cartulary was written. By the time Lorenz Fries wrote his chronicle in the 16th century, this form of burial had

become uniform. All five prince-bishops who died during the 16th century (Lorenz of Bibra, d. 1519; Conrad II of Thüngen, d. 1540; Conrad of Bibra, d. 1544; Melchior Zobel of Giebelstadt, d. 1558 and Friedrich of Wirsberg, d. 1573) had their intestines buried at the Marienberg castle church, their bodies at the Würzburg cathedral and their hearts at Ebrach. All corpses were buried between two and four days after death.

While the custom of burying the viscera at Marienberg castle continued until the 18th century, the tradition of heart burial at Ebrach came to an end in 1573 (Wirth 1928: 287). Friedrich of Wirsberg's successor Julius Echter of Mespelbrunn (d. 1617), a strong advocate of the Catholic Reformation (see below), donated his heart to the University of Würzburg. This institution was his foundation and was under the care of the Jesuits, whom he had promoted during his lifetime. At Echter's heart burial a funeral speech was delivered by the Dutch Jesuit Maximilian van der Sandt, which, like all the other funeral speeches for Echter, was later printed (Michel 1971: 125; Rausch 1992: 365–366). Contrary to the older Würzburg tradition, Echter was not buried in a seated but in a reclining position and carried down from the castle in a tin coffin instead of on a bier (Rausch 1992: 362, 367). Since it was not necessary to hold the head of the deceased princebishop, nobody could claim the right to bring the heart to Ebrach.

The development of post-medieval heart burial: from the Catholic Reformation to the end of the 17th century

While a total of 27 people were processed in the 16th century, this number more than triples in the 17th century (88 persons) (Fig. 12.3). At the same time, the necessity for evisceration drops. Only 26 eviscerated corpses were transported from their place of death to their place of burial (Fig. 12.4). 50 were not transported and 12 cases could not be determined with certainty. A quarter of the corpses processed in the 17th century belong to women (n=22) and for the first time the interior organs of children were separately buried as well (n=8) (Fig. 12.3). In the House of Habsburg a fourteen-year-old (Johann Karl from the Inner Austrian line, buried at Graz) was eviscerated in 1619 and the two-year-old Maria Eleonora from the Tyrolean line was eviscerated in 1629 (Weiss-Krejci 2008: 184). While in the 16th century separate burial and transport of the heart had been rare, in the 17th century the hearts of 47 individuals were separately buried without intestines (Fig. 12.4). Tripartite burial was basically non-existent in the 16th century (not counting the prince bishops of Würzburg), but 16 out of 88 people were buried at three separate places in the 17th century. Heart burial and tripartite burial became especially popular in the House of Habsburg (14 heart burials at Graz and Vienna including 10 tripartite burials), and heart burial remained a dominant feature of the mortuary treatment of the prince-bishops of Würzburg (four heart burials at Würzburg and one at Mainz), but it was also practised by a variety of other groups such as the House of Wittelsbach (three heart burials at Altötting), the archbishops of Mainz and Trier, the bishops of Gurk, Salzburg and Regensburg, the princes of Nassau-Hadamar and the dukes of Palatinate-Neuburg.

Almost four decades ago Michel (1971: 123–125) proposed that the development of post-medieval heart burial has to be understood in the context of the foundation of new religious orders, especially the Jesuits, during the Catholic Reformation. This period, better known as the Counter Reformation, was a powerful religious time whose beginnings can roughly be equated with the pontificate of Pope Pius IV in 1560, and which lasted until the close of the Thirty Years' War in 1648. It was characterised by a tremendous political and social crisis, but also by artistic and ideological innovation. Before discussing heart burials

and their relation to the Counter Reformation in greater detail I would like to briefly outline its major characteristics.

The Catholic Reformation

In the second half of the 16th century the south of Europe was Roman Catholic and the north Protestant, but in France and in the Holy Roman Empire both Roman Catholic and Protestants (Lutheran and Reformed) existed. The signing of the peace of Augsburg in 1555 had officially recognised the Lutheran Church and granted the princes the right to determine the religion of their subjects. With the exception of the ducal House of Wittelsbach of Bavaria and the Imperial House of Habsburg, the majority of Germany's secular imperial princes and the free cities had accepted the Reformation. Emperor Maximilian II (d. 1576) and his successor Rudolf II (d. 1612) were ideologically moderate, but the other members of the House of Habsburg were not. Maximilian II's younger brothers, archdukes Ferdinand of the Tyrol (d. 1595) and Charles II of Inner Austria (d. 1590) who ruled in the hereditary lands, were strong advocates of the Catholic cause as outlined in the last session of Trent (1562–1563). With the support of Pope Gregory XIII, the brothers pushed ahead the Counter Reformation, together with Charles' brother-in-law, Albert V of Bavaria from the House of Wittelsbach (d. 1579). The Pope supported the Jesuits, who had led the work of reeducation wherever they had been able to establish themselves. For example, Archduke Charles II of Inner Austria brought the Society of Jesus to Graz, the capital of Inner Austria, which was a prominent centre of the Lutheran church and had a Lutheran school. The Jesuits first provided a college and school and in 1586 a university. Albert V of Bavaria financed a Jesuit college at the University of Ingolstadt. Ferdinand, son of Charles II of Inner Austria, who later became Emperor Ferdinand II, was trained at Ingolstadt University and his advisers were also Jesuit-trained, and mostly from the Spanish Netherlands. Already by 1600 the archdukes and dukes from the Houses of Habsburg and Wittelsbach had whittled away at the position of Protestant churches, closed most of their schools and abolished Protestant ministries (MacCulloch 2003: 449–457).

The Counter Reformation advocates in the Habsburg family were determined to end the moderate policy of the Habsburg emperors. After the death of the childless Habsburg Emperor Mathias, the ultra-catholic Ferdinand acceded to the throne as Ferdinand II in 1619. At that time the Thirty Years' War had already begun. The end of this devastating war, which had started as a conflict between Protestants and Catholics and eventually involved most of Europe's powers, officially marks the end of the Counter Reformation. Education and military force were not the only strategies applied in the process of the Catholic Reformation. The reformers also made a variety of efforts to increase people's spirituality and to emphasise that the Catholic Church represented the traditional norm in German religion. In the last part of the 16th century the bones of saints were brought out of hiding and shrines desecrated by the Protestants were restored. A central feature of the Jesuit campaign was devotion to Mary and revival of Marian shrines (MacCulloch 2003: 456).

As already observed by Michel (1971: 123), the spur of renovation and new foundation that accompanied the Catholic Reformation had a direct impact on the distribution of body parts. The newly founded orders, in this case the Jesuits and the Capuchins, benefited from the patronage of the Catholic rulers and competed with others over their postmortem remains. Since traditional burial places could not always be given up so rapidly, from the 1580s onwards there was a strong increase in burial of inner organs at newly founded

religious buildings.

The separation of the corpse during the Counter Reformation

The electors and archbishops of Trier

Two known examples of medieval evisceration among the archbishops of Trier have already been mentioned (Albero d. 1152 and James of Sierck d. 1456). The earliest burial of heart and intestines that seems to directly relate to the Catholic Reformation is that of Archbishop of Trier, Jakob of Eltz who died at Trier in 1581 and who was deposited at Trier cathedral, in accordance with the old tradition. His intestines, however, were buried with the Trier Jesuits. The next archbishop, Johann of Schönberg, died in 1599 and was also buried in the Trier cathedral. As was the case with his predecessor, his inner organs (*intestina, viscera, pulmones et cetera vitalia*) were buried in the Jesuit church (Michel 1971: 125). Archbishop Lothar of Metternich (d. 1623 in Koblenz) was also buried at the Trier cathedral. Only his heart was buried with the Jesuits.

The electors and archbishops of Mainz

To my knowledge, the intestines of only one archbishop of Mainz received separate burial in the period before the Catholic Reformation (the heart is not mentioned). Adolf of Nassau died in 1190 at Heiligenstadt. His intestines were buried at Heiligenstadt and his corpse was transported to Mainz. At Mainz, the division of the corpse is definitely associated with the Catholic Reformation. When the Mainz castle was renovated after its destruction by Margrave Albert Alcibiades in 1552, Daniel Brendel of Homburg, the elector and archbishop of Mainz, commissioned the new castle church St Gangolph, consecrating it in 1581. After his death at Aschaffenburg in 1582, both his corpse and inner organs were transported to Mainz. While his corpse was buried at Mainz cathedral, his heart and viscera (*cor autem cum reliquis visceribus*) were buried at St Gangolph (Arens 1958: 605). His successor archbishop Wolfgang of Dalberg, (d. 1601) who died at Aschaffenburg and was buried at Mainz cathedral, was also eviscerated (Brück 1971: 151) but there is no evidence that his intestines were left at St Gangolph. Brendel's example was followed by three of his successors who lived and died during the Catholic Reformation. The intestines, heart and brain (*exta, cor, cerebrum*) of Archbishop of Mainz Johann Adam of Bicken (d. 1604 at Aschaffenburg), the intestines, heart, tongue and brain (*exta, cor, lingua, cerebrum*) of Georg Friedrich Greiffenklau (Archbishop of Mainz and Bishop of Worms, d. 1629 at Mainz), and the heart and brain (*cor et cerebrum*) of Archbishop of Mainz Anselm Kasimir Wambold Umstadt (d. 1647 at Frankfurt) were all buried at St Gangolph (Arens 1958: 641, 667, 674). Only Johannes Schweikard of Kronberg (d. 1626) diverged from this pattern. His heart was buried without intestines at his foundation, the Jesuit church of Aschaffenburg (Michel 1971: 122).

The imperial House of Habsburg

Although in the House of Habsburg separation of the corpse and separate burial of inner organs in different places had been practised since the Middle Ages (e.g. Emperor Frederick III, see above), it was usually associated with transport of the corpse. Separation of the inner organs for non-practical reasons and separate burial of inner organs only developed in the

16th century among the children of Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian I (Philip the Fair and Margaret, see above). In Austria, the earliest evidence for separation of the inner organs from the corpse and the separation of hearts from the intestines comes from Graz. These practices developed gradually, but are clearly associated with the Jesuits and the Counter Reformation. When Charles of Inner Austria died in 1590 his heart and intestines were buried with the Jesuits of Graz. His corpse was transported to Seckau. The heart and intestines of his wife Maria of Bavaria (d. 1608) were also buried with the Jesuits. She was not transported, but her corpse was buried in Graz with the Poor Clares. Also buried with the Jesuits were the inner organs of her son Maximilian Ernst (d. 1616), and her daughter-in-law Maria Anna, the first wife of Ferdinand II (d. 1616) (Fig. 12.7) and Johann Karl (d. 1619), son of Ferdinand II. Unfortunately the urns (which are located at Ferdinand II's mausoleum in Graz) give the name of the deceased but not the contents: it is therefore impossible to tell whether they contained only hearts or hearts and intestines. The earliest secure heart burial in Graz is that of Emperor Ferdinand II (died in Vienna in 1637). His heart was not buried with the Jesuits but in his mother's coffin at the monastery of the Poor Clares (Gerbert *et al.* 1772).



*Fig. 12.7: Maria Anna's visceral urn or heart urn (d. 1616). Engraved inscription on the lid:
 •M•Æ•A•A• DEN 8 MARTI ANNO DOMINI 1616. Silver goblet with lid, total height 26 cm,
 manufactured in Augsburg 1560–1570. Current location: Mausoleum of Ferdinand II, Graz, Austria
 (© Estella Weiss-Krejci)*

Heart burial

These examples show that between 1580 and 1608 hearts and intestines were usually buried together at both Trier and Graz (Eltz 1581 and Schönberg 1599 in Trier, Charles of Inner Austria 1590 and Maria of Bavaria 1608 in Graz), whereas hearts were separated from the intestines only later (Metternich 1623 in Trier, Ferdinand II 1637 in Graz). The archbishops of Mainz do not follow this pattern exactly. Hearts and intestines of Greiffenklau (1629) and

Wambold Umstadt (1647) are buried together; only Kronberg's heart (1626) is buried separately. So far I have not found a single example from German-speaking Europe where a heart was buried without other inner organs between 1580 and 1600.

A tradition of heart burial during the Counter Reformation only developed at the beginning of the 17th century. Strangely enough the earliest heart burial of the 17th century is neither an archbishop nor a person from the Houses of Wittelsbach or Habsburg. The earliest heart is not buried with the Jesuits but with the Franciscans. It belongs to Eitel Friedrich IV of Hohenzollern-Hechingen (d. 1605) and was buried at St Luzen in Hechingen/Swabia. Eitel Friedrich's heart burial is easily understood if one considers his lineage. His wife Sybilla was the daughter of the historian Froben Christoph, count of Zimmern, who was the nephew of Wilhelm Werner of Zimmern, chronicler of the Würzburg prince-bishops, whose heart had also been buried separately in 1575 (see above). The Zimmern family possibly inspired the developing tradition of heart burial. Eitel Friedrich's heart epitaph carries the inscription '*Ubi thesaurus meus, ibi cor meum*' (where my treasure is, there is my heart, modified from Luke 12:34 'for where your treasure is there will your heart be'). This biblical passage was also cited by the Jesuit Maximilian van der Sandt in his speech on the occasion of the heart burial of Würzburg Prince-Bishop Julius Echter in 1617 (see above). On the other hand, Michel (1971: 124) has drawn a connection between the development of heart burial and the assassination of the French king Henri IV in 1610. Before ascending to the throne of France, Henri was a Huguenot and had been involved in the War of Religion. After his coronation he had converted to Catholicism, but had then granted religious liberty to the Protestants. Henri's heart is the first in France that was buried at a Jesuit location, the Paris College La Flèche. The deposition was a bombastic political spectacle in which the heart was put on a carriage and seen by a lot of people. The orations for and burial of the heart suggest that it was considered even more important than the corpse. Both the assassination and the heart burial certainly had repercussions in the Holy Roman Empire (Michel 1971: 124).

Whether the strong focus on the heart in the 17th century constitutes a German development or was brought over from France is hard to say. However, for a short period after Henri IV's heart burial in Paris, hearts seem to cluster in Jesuit churches in the Holy Roman Empire. I have already mentioned Echter from Würzburg (1617), Metternich from Trier (1622) and the archbishop of Mainz, Kronberg, whose heart was buried at Aschaffenburg (1626). Other examples include Charles of Austria, the posthumous son of Charles II of Inner Austria. He was prince-bishop of Wrocław and bishop of Brixen and died during a visit to Philip IV's court in Madrid in 1524. While his corpse was buried at El Escorial, his heart was sent all the way to his Jesuit foundation at Nysa in Silesia (today Poland). The heart of Melchior Khlesl, the Cardinal of Vienna, was buried with the Jesuits at Wiener Neustadt in 1630 (Kerschbaumer 1865: 365). Like all the others, whose hearts were separately buried with the Jesuits between 1617 and 1630, Khlesl was a strong advocate of the Counter Reformation. He had been converted to Catholicism by the Jesuits during his childhood and later on led 23,000 pilgrims to the Upper Styrian Shrine of Mariazell in 1599 (MacCulloch 2003: 454–455).

After 1630 heart burial becomes more widespread, but less frequent at Jesuit sites. Of the ten people in my database who were eviscerated between 1631 and the end of the Thirty Years' War in 1648, seven received a heart burial, but none were buried with the Jesuits. The remaining three individuals whose hearts were buried together with the intestines were also not buried with the Jesuits. In comparison, of 13 eviscerated individuals who died between 1617 and 1630, six received heart burial, all at Jesuit churches. One reason why the

Jesuits lost interest in burial of the heart may have been that they were finally successful in burying corpses at their institutions. The Jesuit church St Michael in Munich became the burial place of the Wittelsbach family. This first major Jesuit church-building project in Central Europe was founded in 1583 by Bavarian Duke William V (d. 1626) and consecrated in 1597. The Jesuit church in Innsbruck was founded by Leopold V (d. 1632) and built during the Thirty Years' War. It received the bodies of the Tyrolean branch of the House of Habsburg. Another reason why fewer hearts were buried with the Jesuits after 1630 may be that there was much more competition with other Counter Reformation orders over body parts. One of the strongest motives, however, is that in the Houses of Wittelsbach and Habsburg hearts became associated with places of Marian veneration and turned into votive-like offerings, a development which naturally was in the Jesuits' interest.

Heart shrines in the Houses of Wittelsbach and Habsburg

The medieval Black Madonna shrine at Altötting had been revived by the Jesuits in 1570. The first heart to be buried there was that of Elisabeth of Lorraine, wife of elector Maximilian I of Bavaria. She had died in Ranshofen in 1635, where her intestines were buried. While her corpse was buried with the Jesuits in Munich, her heart was brought to Altötting (Albrecht 1998: 899; Pritz 1857: 417). In 1651 Maximilian of Bavaria's heart followed; his corpse was buried with the Jesuits in Munich and his intestines were buried in Ingolstadt (Albrecht 1998: 1106). Altötting served as heart burial shrine for the House of Wittelsbach until 1954. The heart of Count Tilley was also buried at Altötting. He was the victor of the Counter Reformation Battle on the White Mountain in Bohemia, which annihilated the Bohemian Protestants. Tilley had died in 1632 and in 1637 Tilley's nephew was given permission to bury Tilley's heart (Michel 1971: 122).

The Habsburgs of Vienna followed a similar practice. Though the hearts of Empress Eleonore Gonzaga, second wife of Ferdinand II (d. 1655) and Ferdinand III (d. 1657) were still buried at Graz, King Ferdinand IV (d. 1654) started the Viennese tradition of tripartite deposition of the corpse (Fig. 12.8). On his deathbed he dedicated his heart to the Virgin of Loreto at the Augustinian church in Vienna. His intestines were buried at St Stephen's cathedral and his corpse at the Capuchin Vault in Vienna (Hawlik-van de Water 1993).

Because almost all adult members of the Habsburg family followed this new pattern, diverging wishes soon started to create problems. When Empress Claudia Felicitas (d. 1676) decided that her body should be buried with the Dominicans beside her mother Anna of Medici, the Capuchin monks who felt deprived of her body demanded her heart.

In the 18th century heart burial reached its peak in the House of Habsburg. Whereas in the 17th century exceptions had sometimes been granted to small children whose intestines and hearts were buried together at St Stephen's (Weiss-Krejci 2008: 184), after 1741 no hearts and intestines were buried together any longer. Intestines were exclusively deposited at St Stephen's and hearts in the Augustinian church. The tradition of the heart burial at the Augustinian church only came to an end in 1878.

Separation of the corpse remained of enormous importance in the Holy Roman Empire throughout the 18th century but became more sporadic in the second part of the 19th and during the 20th centuries (Fig. 12.3). In the 18th century burial places for interior organs were often invented. There are stories about King Rudolf I's heart in Tulln (d. 1291) (Lein 1978: 7–8) and Emperor Maximilian I's heart in Bruge (d. 1519). An epitaph (certainly fake) in the monastery Rheinau was made for the viscera of Duke Hartmann (d. 1281), a son of King Rudolf I (Gut 1999: 101).

Discussion and Conclusions

In popular opinion the heart is a powerful natural symbol and it is for this reason that it plays a particular role in mortuary rituals throughout the world (e.g Dietz 1998). However, as I have shown in this paper, heart burial was not a dominant practice in medieval Central Europe. The preference given to heart burial in Central Europe is mainly a post-medieval phenomenon and developed during the Catholic Reformation when heart symbolism gained special importance in a specific moment of spiritual and political crisis. A comparison of the development of heart burial in German-speaking Europe with Western Europe proves that meanings that are associated with symbols are predominantly embedded in the social and not in the natural world (Kehoe 1979).

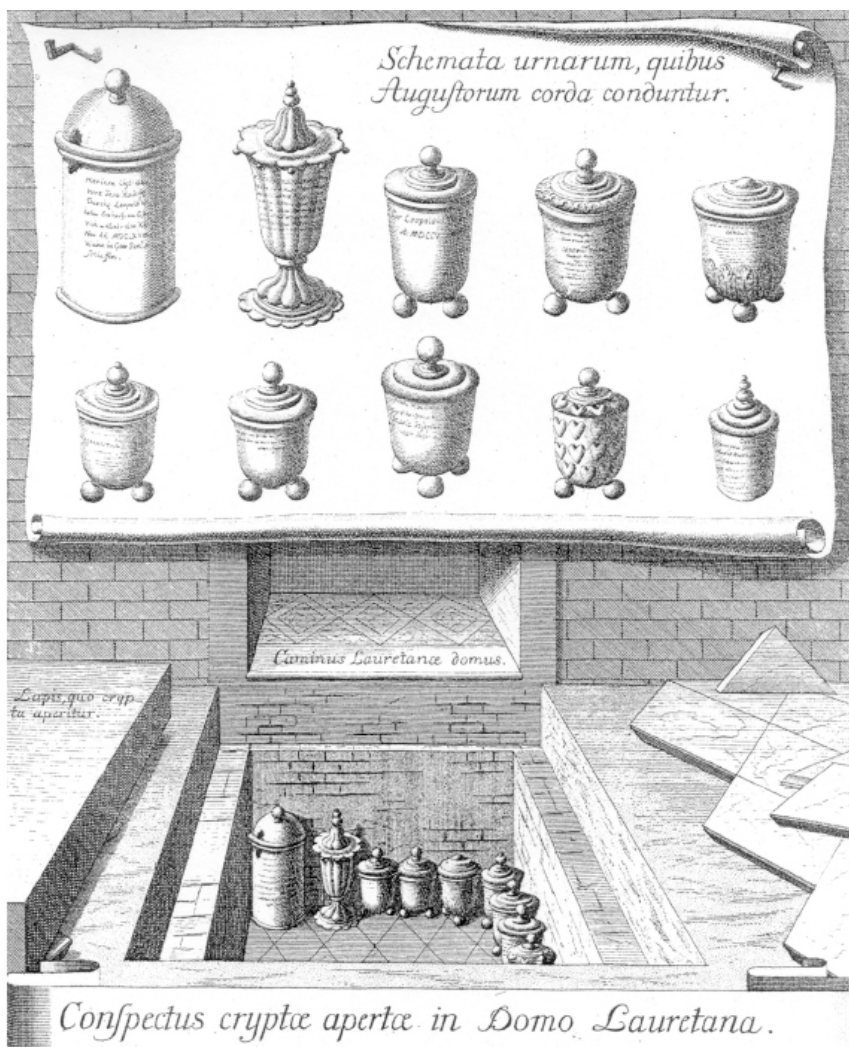


Fig. 12.8: Loreto vault at the Augustinian church in Vienna holding the hearts of ten members of the

The reasons for separate burial of body parts in medieval Western Europe and its detachment from any necessity in terms of bodily preservation are manifold. In a recent study, Westerhof (2008: 82–86) reaches the conclusion that heart burials in England are predominantly related to ancestral and individual benefaction and patronage. Almost all such burials occur at a site favoured during the individual's life. There was also a trend for donating hearts to the newer religious orders which advocated personal spirituality – in 13th century England these were the Dominicans and Franciscans – while the older orders such as Benedictines and Augustinians received the bulk of the bodies. The burial of a founder in their own monastery often created a bond between that place and successive generation of the founder's lineage, who continued the patronage of the original foundations as well as endowing their own monasteries (see also Bradford 1933: 14).

The trend of burying hearts with the newer orders also existed in medieval Central Europe (mainly with the Cistercians and in one instance with the Franciscans). However, to understand fully the proliferation of medieval divisions of the corpse in Western Europe it is necessary to take into account the social aspects. English heart burial can be considered as a kind of fashion. Since the transportation of the corpse was almost always a marker of social distinction (see also Weiss-Krejci 2004; 2005: 170) it is no wonder that procedures associated with transportation and delayed burial, such as evisceration and separate burial of the inner organs, eventually developed into symbols of high status, even when transport was not necessary. The division of the corpse was a costly procedure. In order to show off their wealth, English people from a more modest background who gained roles in local government and administration also started to request separate burial (Westerhof 2008). The reason why this form of mortuary behaviour spread more rapidly among the English than in Central Europe may be explained by the fact that in medieval England separation of the corpse was a tradition which involved both genders, whereas in the Holy Roman Empire it was often practised by unmarried men without legitimate offspring. Of the 88 individuals from Westerhof's sample (Westerhof 2008: Appendix 1), 73 were male and 15 were female. In the Holy Roman Empire treatment of the corpse was mostly a male affair (44 males, 1 female) (Fig. 12.3). In contrast to England where even children had their inner organs buried separately (Westerhof 2008: 42), medieval body processing in Central Europe was restricted to adults.

Apart from these social differences, I believe that there were also diverging ideologies concerning the body. Embalming was the preferred option of body treatment among medieval English aristocrats from the 12th to the 14th centuries (Westerhof 2008: 79), whereas excarnation by boiling (*mos teutonicus*) was the preferred 'German' body treatment during the same time period (Fig. 12.3). Requests for the transportation of hearts to or from the Holy Land were quite popular among the English (Bradford 1933: 42). In contrast, Hademar of Kuenring was to my knowledge the only person from the German-speaking region to ask for his heart to be transported back from a Crusade. In his case the heart was transported together with the right hand. In two other instances, involving two prince-bishops of Würzburg, a hand and an arm were transported. This also strongly contrasts with England where, according to Westerhof (2008: 88), not one aristocratic body was dismembered for the separate inhumation of arms or legs. It seems that for the English the heart was so important because it represented humanity's inner being. Among medieval German-speaking people – especially the prince-bishops who represented both secular and

religious powers – other body parts such as bones or arms could also fulfil that function.

In contrast to medieval Europe, separation of the corpse in post-medieval Europe was more than just a means of duplicating the body. The heart took over additional functions by transforming into an artefact which was used to promote ritual action. Through the burial of the heart and its associated funeral orations and theatre plays – in 1653 two Jesuit plays were performed upon the heart burial of Prince Johann Ludwig of Nassau-Hadamar (Michel 1971: 136–139) – a new heart symbolism was propagated. Michel (1971: 139) has pointed to the fact that post-medieval heart burial is connected to the emerging cult of the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. The Sacred Heart of Jesus was the symbol of love in the speeches of Francis of Sales (1567–1622), one of the major contributors to restoring the reputation of French Catholicism (MacCulloch 2003: 476). It became a metaphor for the divine, and after sanctioned by the visions of Marguerite Marie Alacoque in 1673–1675, a widely popular object of devotion. The continuous association of noble hearts with sacred symbols, with the body of Jesus and the Virgin, eventually turned Catholic European monarchs of the 17th century into sacred persons too.

In both Central and Western Europe in the Middle Ages duplication of the body was the reason for separation. By physically fragmenting corpses, high-ranking individuals could express loyalty to more than one site (Binski 1996: 63) and comply with a range of political, religious and social demands (Westerhof 2008). Although the heart was sometimes considered as more important than the intestines, all body parts could stand for a person. On the other hand, separation of the corpse and heart burial in 17th century Catholic Europe had a different quality. Although the division of the corpse in post-medieval Central Europe repeats some of the trends of medieval Western Europe (for example, the body was divided up among the various new Counter Reformation orders; separate burial of the inner organs became common among women and children [Fig. 12.3]; the heart was favoured over the intestines) the heart turns into something more than just a representative of a person. It becomes a political artefact, which was used to renew spirituality and promote new types of religious beliefs.

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13. In the pursuit of knowledge: Dissection, post-mortem surgery and the retention of body parts in 18th- and 19th-century Britain

Annia Cherryson

Introduction

Fundamental changes in medical philosophy during the 17th century saw the corpse becoming increasingly central to medical education and research. The writings of Hypocrites and Galen that had underpinned medieval medicine were being increasingly questioned (Porter 2003: 50). The 'new philosophers' of the 17th century took a more mechanistic approach to nature, arguing that living organisms were subject to the same universal laws of matter as inanimate objects, thus envisioning the human body as a living machine (*ibid.* 50–51, French 1993: 93). This new more scientific climate favoured experimentation over reification, with the internal workings of the body becoming a focus for research and education. In Britain during the medieval period, the inner workings of the body had been a subject of speculation and conjecture, but not experimentation. The body might be opened or dismembered as part of the embalming process or to facilitate the burial in more than one location (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005: 80, Litten 1991: 32–56), but not as the subject of medical enquiry. This changed during the early modern period with the medical community becoming increasingly aware of the corpse's potential value as an educational and research tool.

The new more functionalist approach made an understanding of anatomy increasingly important, particularly for surgeons and physicians (Harley 1994: 4). Initially, anatomy was taught using demonstrations in large anatomy theatres, with lectures on the subject given as a corpse was being dissected. The 18th century saw students increasingly taking a hands-on approach to dissection, rather than just observing them (Lawrence 1995: 199). This had the advantage of not only improving the student's anatomical knowledge but also their manual dexterity and operating technique, with the bodies of the dead being used to practice surgical procedures (Chamberlain 1999: 7, Fissell 1991: 141, Witkin 1997). Experience of hands-on dissection and the chance to practice surgery tended to be obtained through courses at the private anatomy schools, which had sprung up during the 18th century, or as fee paying students attached to physicians and surgeons in voluntary hospitals (Loudon 1995: 230). This period also saw the increasing use of autopsy as a means of studying morbid anatomy, which focused on pathological changes to the body (Harley 1994: 10, Moore 2005: 231). Autopsy, like dissection, first appeared in Britain in the early modern

period. It was initially used to determine cause of death of prominent individuals where there were suspicious circumstances, but its potential value in the study of morbid anatomy was soon recognised, with the process becoming an integral part of medical education and research (Harley 1994: 7–9). This paper examines the archaeological evidence for the fragmentation and partition of body for medical training and research in Britain during the 18th and 19th century and how this affected attitudes towards the corpse during this period.

The archaeological evidence for autopsy

Although there is a degree of overlap between autopsy and dissection, there are significant differences of the degree of fragmentation of the body and reasons for performing the two procedures, although both challenged the integrity of the body. The main function of autopsy was to establish cause of death, initially only in suspicious circumstances, later to elucidate pathological processes and the efficacy of medical intervention. Autopsies were usually less invasive and destructive than dissection, with investigations confined to soft tissues and often restricted to parts of the body thought to be linked to the cause of death with fragmentation of the skeleton unusual (Harley 1994: 5). At its most comprehensive intervention was usually limited to the abdominal and thoracic cavities and the brain, with none of the stripping and disarticulation of the bones characteristic of dissection. In contrast, dissection examined the structure of the body, usually for pedagogical and research purposes. By its very nature the process was more invasive than most autopsies, with all parts of the body potentially subject to investigation. Moreover, the difficulties often encountered in obtaining cadavers for dissection necessitated the use of every part of the body. Roberts, writing in 1843, stated that there was “little left but a series of disconnected bones denuded of flesh” once the anatomists had finished with a body, leaving little but fragments to be interred (1843: 9).

Site	Date	Number affected/ total number ¹	% of skeletal assemblage	Reference
St. Marylebone Church, London	18th– 19th century	5/301	1.7	Miles <i>et al.</i> 2008
Christ Church Spitalfields, London	1729–1867	7/968	0.72	Molleson & Cox 1993
St. Luke's Islington, London	18th–19th century	6/696	0.66	Boyle <i>et al.</i> 2005
St. Benet Sherehog Burial Ground, London	17th–19th century	1/212	0.47	Miles & White 2008
St. George Bloomsbury, London	1803–1856	4/111	3.6	Boston <i>et al.</i> 2006
Cross Bones Burial Ground, London	Mainly 19th century	2/147	1.36	Bickley & Miles 1999
Catholic Mission of St. Mary & St. Michael	1843–1854	7/747	0.93	Miles & Powers 2006
Bow Baptist Church Burial Ground	1810–1837	1/348 ²	0.28	Powers 2007
St. Martin's in the Bullring, Birmingham	18th–19th century	7/505	1.4	Bickley 2006
St. Bartholomew's Church, Peas, Wolvehampton	18th–20th century	3/351	0.85	Boyle 2002
Holy Trinity Church, Coventry	1776– c.1850	4/1706 ³	0.23	Soden 2000
St. Peter's Church, Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire	Multi-period	1/427 ⁴	0.23	Waldron 2007

¹ Only includes number of individuals examined osteologically unless otherwise stated.

² Preliminary findings

³ Number of burials excavated

⁴ Only including skeletons in phase A (1700–1855)

Fig. 13.1: Examples of the incidence of autopsy found in churchyard assemblages of over 100 burials



Fig. 13.2: Skeleton 219 from the churchyard of St. Peter's Church Barton-upon-Humber with craniotomy and charred stake replacing the spine (courtesy of Warwick Rodwell)

Articulated skeletons exhibiting post-mortem modifications, such as craniotomies and/or cuts to the bones of the thorax, synonymous with medical investigations have been found in many post-medieval burial grounds (see Fig. 13.1 and 13.2). The level of fragmentation of the body seen among examples from churchyards and community burial grounds is suggestive of the less invasive autopsy rather than dissection. During the 16th and 17th centuries some criminals subjected to anatomist's knife are known to have been interred in churchyards (Sawday 1995: 60; Gittings 1984: 75). This changed with the passing of the Murder Act in 1751 which gave the anatomists the right to dissect the bodies of murderers specifically to deny them burial. Meanwhile, corpses acquired illegally from grave-robbers having been wrenched from their graves following one formal burial were unlikely to be accorded a second. Thus between 1751 and the passing of the Anatomy Act in 1832 not only were subjects of dissection unlikely to found in community churchyards or burial grounds, they were unlikely to be accorded formal burial at all. After 1832, the majority of the bodies dissected were the unclaimed bodies of those dying in hospitals and workhouses and as such likely to be interred in the burial grounds belonging to those institutions, although it should be noted that some workhouses and hospitals did use parish poor grounds. Accordingly it can be assumed with a reasonable degree of confidence that most evidence for post-mortem skeletal modification seen in 18th and 19th-century churchyards are products of autopsy. When dealing with earlier material the situation is less clear cut and similar assumptions cannot be so easily made.

Distinguishing autopsy from dissection is more problematic when considering the evidence from hospital burial grounds. Voluntary hospitals of the 18th- and 19th-centuries provided the only possible source of medical treatment for the poor (Fissell 1989: 36). Unless claimed by their families, the bodies of those dying within hospitals were often subject to autopsy or dissection prior to interment (Moore 2005: 161; Richardson 1988: 105–6). The nature of the cut marks observed among many, but not all, skeletons from a number of hospital burial grounds, including Edinburgh Royal Infirmary, the Royal Naval Hospital at Greenwich, Bristol Royal Infirmary and the Newcastle Infirmary, are analogous to those seen in churchyards and suggest these individuals had been subjected to autopsy as opposed to dissection (Boston *et al.* 2008: 63, Boulter, Robertson and Start 1998: 138–139, Henderson, Collard and Johnston 1996: 937, Samuel 2003: 11).

The vast majority of examples of autopsy from archaeological contexts date to the 18th- and 19th century, a reflection of both the increasing acceptance of autopsy in these centuries and the comparative dearth of securely dated 17th-century burials (Harley 1994: 7–9; Cherryson, Crossland and Tarlow in press). The archaeological evidence suggests that autopsy was far from common, with an incidence among large skeletal assemblages ranging between 0.15 and 3.6% (Table 13.1). It should be noted the skeletal evidence provides at best an incomplete picture of the prevalence and form of autopsy as it is possible to examine many of the body's internal structures, such as those within the abdominal cavity, without cutting the skeleton. Craniotomies are the most common and often only evidence for autopsy, usually taking the form of a horizontal section across the cranial vault (Cherryson, Crossland and Tarlow in press). Although much less common, examples of post-mortem medical procedures have also been found on the post-cranial skeleton, usually as cut marks on the ribs, sternum and clavicle used to access the thoracic cavity. For example, the manubrium of a young male interred at St. Martin's-in-the-Bullring, Birmingham had been sawn through while cut marks were observed on the anterior ends of the ribs of a juvenile buried at Christ Church, Spitalfields, London (Brickley 2006: 146, Molleson and Cox 1993: 89). Yet it is also possible to access the thoracic cavity by cutting through the costal-cartilage and dividing the sterno-clavicular joints (Bell 1799: 31; Harris 1887: 17–18, Lee 1879: 6). This would leave no trace on any skeletal remains and may, in part, explain the much higher levels of craniotomies compared with post-cranial evidence of autopsy, although the preferential preservation of the more robust skull compared with the more delicate ribs and sternum is also likely to be a contributory factor.

Morbid anatomy and forensic science were in their infancies during this period and there is little evidence for the standardisation of autopsies until the late 19th century. While descriptions in contemporary medical journals and newspapers suggest the brain, thoracic and abdominal cavities were the usual focus of post-mortem examinations (see for example Johnson 1858: 493; *The Times* May 20th 1833), variations observed in the position of cutmarks on skeletal remains suggest the form autopsies took was fluid rather than fixed. For example, two skeletons from Christ Church Spitalfields in London have cut marks on the post-cranial skeleton but no evidence for craniotomies (Molleson and Cox 1993: 89). In the absence of a standard methodology, a combination of clinical considerations and the need to respect the sensibilities of the families of well-to-do subjects determined the location and extent of the post-mortem investigation. The ante-mortem symptoms and treatment of individual would have affected the form of the post-mortem examination and may explain some of the more atypical cut marks observed on the skeletons. Most of the post-cranial evidence for medical investigations are found on the ribs, clavicle or sternum but occasionally cuts are found elsewhere such as the spine or the lower leg (Brickley and Miles 1999: 45; Henderson, Collard and Johnston 1996: 937). Another factor to consider is the relatives of deceased private patients. Their permission was required prior to an autopsy being performed and not all were particularly enamoured by the thought of their loved one's body being cut open. A degree of compromise was often required. When James Mason died in 1858 his father was reluctant to allow a post-mortem to be conducted (Chadwick 1858: 204). Consent was eventually granted on the understanding that the autopsy be confined to only the abdominal cavity.

The majority of individuals with craniotomies found in churchyards and burial grounds were interred with the skull caps removed during the post-mortem restored to anatomical position. By the late 18th century the presentation of the corpse had become increasingly important; this may explain the concerted efforts that were made to conceal evidence of the

post-mortem and restore the integrity of the body, thus making the body presentable for burial and avoiding distressing the bereaved (Tarlow 2002; Harris 1887: 77). In most cases the skull cap would have simply been repositioned and covered with the scalp to hold it in place. While the scalp was usually sufficient to hold the skull cap in place, it does have a tendency to slip backwards creating a groove in the forehead and altering the features. Sometimes additional measures were used, as at St. Peter's Church, Barton-upon-Humber in Lincolnshire, where the two parts of a craniotomy were glued back together (Waldron 2007: 306). Any evidence of the methods used to secure the skull cap and repair the scalp would have been concealed by the hair or the funerary caps and bonnets of the period (Boyle, Boston and Witkin 2005: 251). Funerary clothing would have been sufficient to obscure evidence of most abdominal and thoracic investigations once stitches had been used to close any incisions. Occasionally, the extent of damage done to the torso by the autopsy required more extensive repair. An adult male interred at St. Peter's Church, Barton-upon-Humber had his spine, ribs and sternum removed as part of an autopsy with the vertebral column then being replaced with a piece of charred wood (see Fig. 13.2; Rodwell and Rodwell 1982: 306; Waldron 2007: 38). The wood, perhaps combined with grass or moss used to stuff the body cavities, was used to disguise the damage done by the post-mortem. The efforts made to hide the effects of the surgeon's knife and restore the integrity of the body are understandable when the consent of relatives was a necessary prerequisite for the majority of autopsies. The return of an unsightly and obviously damaged corpse would do little enhance the acceptability of the process.

While most of the skeletal evidence for autopsy has been recovered from Anglican churchyards, examples have also been found in Baptist burial grounds in London and Poole, a Methodist burial ground in Sheffield and a Catholic cemetery in London, suggesting the practice was acceptable to at least some members of a number of different denominations (McIntyre and Wilmott 2003, McKinley 2008, Miles and Powers 2006, Powers 2007). Much of the evidence for autopsy comes from sites in London. This is not an unexpected finding given that the city was by a considerable margin the largest urban centre in Britain during the post-medieval period and there was a greater concentration of medical practitioners, anatomy schools and teaching hospitals in the capital than anywhere else in the country (Bynum 1985: 106–7). More interesting are the autopsied individuals from the smaller towns, such as Poole, Barton-upon-Humber and Bath, and villages, such as Bathampton, Somerset and Forest Hill, Oxfordshire (Boston 2004, Cox and Stock 1994, Lewcun 1995, McKinley 2008, Waldron 2007) as they demonstrate that autopsies and medical enquiry were not just the preserve of the urban medical practitioner and that by the 19th century, if not before, post-mortem examinations had become part of the practice of the country doctor.



Fig. 13.3: 16th to 18th century burial from Oxford Castle with fragments of dissected skull placed in the chest cavity (courtesy of Oxford Archaeology)

During the 18th and 19th century autopsy had both a judicial and medical function. The procedure was used to determine cause of death in suspicious circumstances and became an increasingly integral part of coroners' inquiries during the 18th and 19th centuries. The craniotomy cuts on the skull of George Warden, who was interred in the family vault at St. Martin's-in-the-Bullring in 1863, are from the two post-mortem examinations conducted on his remains by the Oxford coroner after his death from an accidental overdose of opium (Adams 2006: 199; Brickley 2006: 146). While this in part accounts for the rising numbers of autopsies during this period, the procedure was also increasingly used to investigate the disease process and the efficacy of medical treatments. As such it is not surprising that pathological lesions were observed on some of the skeletons subject to autopsy. Tuberculosis was one of the great scourges of the post-medieval period (Roberts and Cox 2003: 338) and skeletal changes associated with the condition have been observed on a number of autopsied individuals. The body of George Waldron, buried at St. Luke's, Islington, London, had lesions on his ribs suggesting he was suffering from chronic respiratory infection, possibly tuberculosis, when he died in 1850 (Boyle, Boston and Witkin 2005: 252). His body had been subject to a craniotomy and sternotomy, the latter presumably to allow access to the thoracic cavity and allow an examination of the lungs. Other conditions observed in individuals subject to autopsy included syphilis, rickets, healing rib fractures and facial cancer (Boyle, Boston and Witkin 2005: 252, Brickley 2006: 146, Miles and Powers 2006: 31, Miles, Powers and Wroe-Brown 2008). However, it should be noted that many diseases leave no trace on skeletal remains (Roberts and Manchester 2005: 13) and thus unsurprisingly many of individuals subject to post-mortem examination do not exhibit any pathological changes.



Fig. 13.4: Some of the evidence for craniotomies from the burial ground associated with Newcastle Infirmary (courtesy of Andrew Chamberlain)

Archaeological evidence for dissection

Despite being well attested in documentary sources, the evidence for dissection in the archaeological record is less substantial than that for autopsy. The skulls of two young males interred in the 16th to 18th century prison cemetery at Oxford Castle had been subjected to multiple craniotomies with the fragmented remains of their skulls placed within their chest cavities prior to interment (see Fig. 13.3; Hacking 2006: 116–117, Norton 2006: 12). The level of fragmentation of the skull seen in these individuals far exceeds what would be required to access the brain during autopsy, suggesting they had gone to their graves via the dissecting room.

Autopsies are known to have been performed at voluntary hospitals on the unclaimed bodies of the dead, with the cut marks seen in many of the articulated burials from hospital burial grounds echoing those of autopsy subjects interred in churchyards, as discussed above (Fig. 13.4). Others skeletons from hospital burial grounds exhibit post-mortem modification indicative of more invasive procedures, such as the individual interred at the Newcastle Infirmary whose lower body was missing below the fourth lumbar vertebra (Nolan 1998: 49). Similar examples of highly fragmented bodies have been recovered at the Royal London Hospital and Bristol Royal Infirmary indicating both autopsy and dissection were being undertaken at some hospitals (Chamberlain 1999: 7, Boulter, Robertson, and Start 1998, Powers 20008, Samuel 2003). Other evidence for dissection has been found in deposits of medical waste. The Craven Street site in London was the home of the anatomist William Hewson between 1772 and 1774 (Hillson *et al.* 1999: 14). Hewson was known to have run an anatomy school in Craven Street and the fragmented human remains from the site, which include skulls with transverse and sagittal craniotomies, are thought to be linked to that establishment (*ibid.* 14–5). The 2050 fragments of human bone found at the Old Ashmolean Museum in Oxford are thought to be linked to the use of the basement of the building as an anatomy school between 1683 and 1767 and have formed part of the teaching collection (Bennett, Johnston and Simcock 2000: 7, 23, White 2003: 13). Similarly, a small assemblage of human bone, including a coronally sectioned distal tibia and fibula, was found during excavations at Surgeons Square in Edinburgh (Henderson, Collard and Johnston 1996: 940). The site lies close to Surgeons Hall and to buildings known to have

housed private anatomy schools. The human remains are thought to be linked to one of these buildings. The comparative lack of evidence for dissection within the archaeological record is perhaps not that surprising as the remains were often highly fragmented and would have often been disposed of by the most convenient means possible, including pits, troughs and night carts (Roberts 1843: 9–10).

The use of fresh cadavers in medical teaching and research was augmented by the use of preserved anatomical specimens, which were particularly useful in illustrating rare conditions and complex structures within the body that were difficult to dissect. Containing a mixture of normal and pathological specimens often garnered from dissection and autopsy, the growth of anatomical collections parallels and provides testament to the increasing fragmentation of the body for medical teaching and research (Cartcart 1893; Clift n.d; Clift 1825). Anatomical collections were a mixture of skeletal samples and preserved soft tissue. While most collections contained one or more complete skeletons reassembled using wires, the majority of specimens consisted of fragmented body parts. Individual bones, some sectioned, jostled on shelves with preserved internal organs, tumours and parts of the body such as the feet or hands. The living machine had in essence been broken down to constituent parts allowing the student and other interested parties to examine the individual components. A number of anatomical collections from the 18th and 19th century are still extant. The best known are those of John and William Hunter, which are now housed in the Royal College of Surgeons in London and the Hunterian Museum in Glasgow respectively.

Skeletal material thought to have originated in anatomical collections has been excavated in Surgeon's Square Edinburgh, Nottingham General Hospital, Bristol Royal Infirmary, Old Ashmolean Museum Oxford and Craven Street London (Henderson, Collard and Johnston 1996, Chapman 1997, Samuel 2003; White 2003, Bennet, Johnston and Simcock 2000: 26, Hillson *et al.* 1999). Green stains from copper alloy suspension wires and drilled holes were found on some of the bones in the assemblage found at the Old Ashmolean Museum, home of the university's anatomy school between 1683 and 1767 (Bennett, Johnston and Simcock 2000: 26, White 2003: 14–15). A vertebra with fragments of copper wire attached was found at the Royal Bristol Infirmary and may have been part of the hospital reference or teaching collection (Samuel 2003: 11). A right tibia, found among a small collection of bones excavated at Nottingham General Hospital and thought to be part of a discarded reference collection, had evidence for an iron hinge at one end and a deeply incised slot at the distal end (Chapman 1997: 44). This suggests the bone was once part of an anatomical teaching skeleton with the hinge allowing flexion with the femur at the knee and the groove housing a pivot for the foot. Mercury found in association with some turtle bones and a dog vertebra outlined with the inorganic pigment vermilion were among the material recovered from the anatomical school at Craven Street in London (Hillson *et al.* 1999: 16). Inorganic pigments and mercury were often used to highlight certain features in preparations of soft tissue, such as the arterial, venous and lymphatic systems, suggesting the preparation of anatomical specimens occurred on the premises (Knox 1836: 27–32). Reference collections were also used to illustrate morbid anatomy and many of the bones found at Nottingham exhibited pathological conditions, including rickets, osteomyelitis and septic arthritis (Chapman 1997: 39–43). Pathological lesions were also observed among the bones from an assemblage found at Surgeon's Square Edinburgh, including Paget's disease, osteomyelitis and an ankylosed fibula and tibia, which had been sectioned coronally to illustrate the ossified transverse and anterior tibio-fibular ligaments (Henderson, Collard and Johnston 1996: 940).

During the first half of the 18th century, dissection had become an increasingly essential element of medical training (Linebaugh 1988: 70), with a good knowledge of anatomy deemed to be essential for medical practitioners, especially surgeons. By the latter part of the 18th century, medical students augmented their standard training by taking courses in anatomy in privately run anatomy schools and as fee paying students attached to hospital physicians and surgeons (Gelfand 1985: 130; Lawrence 1995: 200). Moreover anatomical training increasingly took the form of the student performing the dissection themselves, rather than watching an anatomisation (Lawrence 1995: 199). The transition from demonstration to a more interactive approach to the teaching of anatomy dramatically increased the number of fresh corpses required by the medical profession with each medical student estimated to need as least two corpses to learn anatomy in the early 19th century (Report and Evidence of Select Committee on Anatomy 1828: 4).

Archaeological evidence for post-mortem surgery

Surgeons had traditionally performed the more practical and bloody aspects of medicine and were seen as inferior and of lower status than the university educated physicians (Richardson 1988: 34). The new scientific environment and the growth of anatomy resulted in significant advances in surgery and enhanced the standing of its practitioners (Lawrence 1995: 199; Porter 1997: 277). Most surgery was performed without any pain relief, often with the patient restrained (*ibid.* 364, Porter 1996: 229). Anaesthetics were not routinely used for surgery until the 1840s (Porter 2006: 198). There is some evidence for the use of low levels of opiates in the 18th century, and also for the use of clamps to apply pressure over nerves to reduce pain (Witkin 1997: 20). Under these conditions, surgery had to be quick and performed with great precision (Porter 1996: 207). It was not to be undertaken by the inexperienced. Students could use cadavers to practice surgery without the complication of a moving patient or an unfavourable outcome should they take too long. The bodies of the dead were also used by more experienced surgeons when developing new techniques. While care needs to be taken in distinguishing between the modification of bone resulting from surgery performed just before an individual's death as opposed to after their death, examples of post-mortem surgery are known from several sites. A number of skulls recovered from the waste deposits from Craven Street bore multiple completed and uncompleted holes from a trephine, a surgical instrument that was used to cut holes in the skull (Hillson *et al.* 1999: 16). Multiple surgical procedures on a single individual suggest the body was used post-mortem for surgical practice. A skull with eleven separate trephination cuts found at Cotton Court, Hill Street in Belfast is thought to have been used to practice trephination by a medical student before being discarded in the back garden (Ó Baoill, McQuaid and Buckley 2002: 7). Multiple surgical procedures were also observed on an adult skeleton interred in the burial ground of Newcastle Infirmary, which had amputations to four bones – right humerus, right femur, right tibia and right fibula – representing three separate amputations, two involving the same leg (Boulter, Robertson and Start 1998: 138, Start 2002: 117, Witkin 1997: 89). This individual also exhibited evidence of dissection with a craniotomy, four ribs cut at the mid-shaft and the transverse sectioning of the fifth thoracic vertebra (Boulter, Robertson and Start 1998: 138). Other examples of post-mortem amputations were identified among the skeletons from Newcastle Infirmary using other factors such as the nature and direction of saw marks and the position of the amputation (Witkin 1997: 83, 87). On one tibia, the direction of sawing had changed several times, which would have made the procedure too slow for a living patient to have

had any chance of surviving, suggesting the individual was already dead (Fig. 13.5)(*ibid.* 84, Chamberlain 1999: 7). The position of the amputation on another bone, an ulna, was too close to the elbow to be performed ante-mortem as there was no functional reason in retaining the upper part of the ulna once the muscle insertions were removed (Witkin 1997: 88).

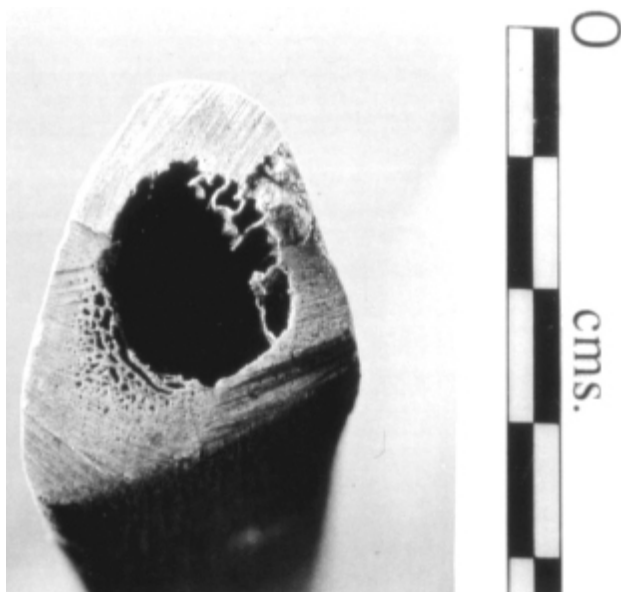


Fig. 13.5: Amputated tibia from Newcastle Infirmary showing cuts from different directions suggestive of post-mortem surgery (courtesy of Annsofie Witkin)

The body as an anatomical object

The 18th century saw the transformation of the body into an anatomical object, a commodity increasingly important for medical education and research, but where did the bodies used by the medical community come from? Initially, the majority of bodies used for teaching and research were provided by the judiciary. The fragmentation of the body had long been used as a punitive measure, although usually reserved only for most repulsive of crimes such as treason where the traditional punishment was hanging, drawing and quartering (Bynum 1991: 276, Gatrell 1994: 315–316). Heads and quarters were then displayed on spikes as a warning to others throughout the city, often at locations where the treason had occurred or on city walls and gates (Bellamy 1979: 207–208, Richardson 1988: 34). The State's attack on the integrity of the body played on deep-seated folk beliefs on bodily resurrection and the persistence of a degree of sentience after death (Porter 2003: 217, Richardson 1988: 7, 15, 76). Not only could the partition of the body potentially inhibit the resurrection of the body but fragmentation of a sentient corpse allowed punishment to continue beyond death. It was only during the 19th century, when scientific advances made it clear that death was the final punishment, that the justification by the State of the further mutilation of the corpse became increasingly problematic (Gatrell 1994: 16). The parallels between fragmentation of the body caused by dissection and that achieved by hanging,

drawing and quartering led the State to allow medical procedures as a punitive measure. The connection between dissection and judicial punishment was initially forged in 1540, when Henry VIII granted the United Companies of Barbers and Surgeons the right to the bodies of four hanged felons for dissection (Gittings 1984: 74, Richardson 1988: 32). This number was increased to ten by subsequent royal grants. In addition, the College of Physicians was entitled to the bodies of up to four criminals for dissection in its charter of 1565 (Harley 1994: 4). This inextricably linked medical enquiry and judicial punishment in the eyes of the public (Richardson 1988: 32). Such arrangements were not confined to London; a royal act gave the University at Oxford the right to corpses from the Abingdon and Oxford gallows during the 17th and 18th centuries and the two dissected felons from Oxford Castle may well have gone to their graves via the gallows and the dissection room (Hull 2003: 21; Hacking 2006: 116–117).

As dissection became an increasingly integral part of medical education during the eighteenth century, there was a growing demand for corpses and not just from those from those entitled to the bodies (Lineburgh 1988: 70). The private anatomy schools, that provided many students practical experience of dissection, had no legal right to any corpses from the gallows (*ibid.* 71). This did not prevent their owners and their agents from attempting to claim bodies to which they had no right often with riotous results (Richardson 1988: 53). The conflicts seen at the gallows were eased by the passing of the 1751 ‘Act for Better Preventing the Horrid Crime of Murder’, often known as the ‘Murder Act’ (25 Geo. 2. CAP XXXVII: V). By the mid-18th century the death sentence was being routinely applied to such a wide range of offences that it was felt an additional punishment was required for those guilty of murder to act as a deterrent (Richardson 1988: 36). Under the Act, those guilty of murder were to be denied formal burial, with the judge having the option of sending their executed bodies either to the gibbet or the dissecting room. While restoring relative peace at the gallows, the Murder Act failed to completely meet the anatomists’ need for fresh corpses (Lineburgh 1988: 78). The private anatomy schools were often not legally entitled to these bodies and had to look elsewhere for their raw materials (Moore 2005: 77, Richardson 1988: 40). While a number of avenues were explored, including purchasing the bodies of condemned not already destined for the dissecting room, stealing bodies from the gallows and bribing undertakers to remove bodies from coffins prior to interment (Moore 2005: 84), the bulk of those dissected in private anatomy schools had been stolen from their graves by the grave robbers, often described as resurrectionists as they raised bodies from their final resting place (Richardson 1988: 54).

The fear of being untimely wrenched from the grave pervaded late 18th and early 19th century society (Richardson 1988: 80; Rugg 1998: 48). Whether the grave-robbers were really so prolific to warrant such widespread concern is less clear and there is little direct evidence for their activities in the archaeological record. The activities of the resurrectionists are the most probable explanation for the damage to the lead coffin of Anna Barnard, who was interred in the Quaker Cemetery at Kingston-upon-Thames in 1792. The Coffin had been ripped open at the head end and was empty except for a blonde hairpiece (Bashford and Sibun 2007: 111). In some cases, the corpse never reached the grave. A coffin containing rubble instead of a corpse was found in the vault under Christ Church, Spitalfields, with the absence of a body possibly the result of the activities of a corrupt undertaker (Molleson and Cox 1993: 205). The weight of the rubble would have disguised the absence of a body (Richardson 1988: 65). The paucity of archaeological evidence for the activities of the resurrection men is perhaps not that surprising. The high density of burials seen in many churchyards and burial grounds during this period means later burials

would quickly obscure any empty graves resulting from the activities of grave robbers. Anatomists are known to have claimed that no-one was beyond their reach and bodies could be stolen to order (Richardson 1988: 63–64). In his evidence to the Select Committee on Anatomy in 1828 the surgeon Sir Astley Cooper said “there is no person, let his situation in life be what it may, whom, if I were disposed to dissect, I could not obtain” (Report and Evidence of the Select Committee on Anatomy 1828: 18). Yet much of the resurrectionist’s trade involved targeting easy sources of bodies – the graves of the poor (Richardson 1988: 61). In many intercity churchyards and burial grounds, the bodies of paupers and those of limited means were interred in mass graves and pits (*ibid.* 60, Brickley and Miles 1999: 25, Walker 1839: 139). These graves were initially dug to a great depth and left open while gradually filled over time. These open graves were popular targets for the resurrectionists with the flimsy wooden coffins of poor offering little resistance particularly when compared with the more robust triple shelled coffins available to those with greater means (Richardson 1988: 60, 80). The absence of one or more bodies stolen from these mass graves is unlikely to be visible in the archaeological record.

Far more visible archaeologically was the fear created by the activities of the resurrections as individuals sought to ensure that their mortal remains did not end up on an anatomist’s slab by enhancing the protection provided to the body in the grave. For the wealthy, the use of brick-lined graves and private vaults combined with triple shelled coffins all served to enhance security, but for some this was insufficient and additional measures were required (Richardson 1988: 80). Patents were filed for complex methods ensuring long-term occupancy of the grave, such as the Jarvis’s Patent Coffin of 1810 (Litten 1991: 109–111). Post-mortem security often took a simpler form with the addition of iron bars and straps to the coffin. At Christ Church Spitalfields, the outer wooden coffin of Mary Mason had three iron straps secured around it while the thin iron plate along the side of a coffin from St. Oswald’s Priory may represent the remains of an anti-resurrectionist device (Heighway and Bryant 1999: 221, Molleson and Cox 1993: 205). Interestingly, some of the most robust anti-resurrectionist defences at Spitalfields were found on the coffin of the undertaker William Horne. His triple shelled coffin had two iron bars running the length of coffin supporting the lid of the wooden shell, the lead coffin had two iron bars nailed to the interior, and the outer wooden coffin had two iron straps wrapped around it and secured with nails (Molleson and Cox 1993: 205). His profession would have made him more familiar than most with the activities of the resurrectionists.

The bodies of criminals and the often anonymous corpses obtained from the resurrectionists used for dissection were ideal for the study of normal anatomy, but they were ill-suited for the study of morbid anatomy. The latter focused on the physical manifestations of disease and thus corpses known to have died of pathological conditions with a detailed clinical history were an essential prerequisite (Harley 1994: 3). Hence there are significant differences between the origins of cadavers used for dissection and autopsy. While those subject to dissection prior to 1832 came from the gallows and the grave, the majority of those subject to autopsy had sought the advice of the medical profession prior to death and were likely to originate from two distinct social groups from the extremes of the social spectrum. The first group were the poor and destitute from the voluntary hospitals. These were charitable foundations providing the only source of medical treatment for the “deserving poor” (Porter 2006: 185, Woodward 1974: 36). Once in hospital, the patient became subservient to the medical staff and their families were not always in a position to resist demands for an autopsy (Richardson 1988: 47). In theory before 1832, hospital patients could only be subject to autopsy if consent was given by their families and

dissection was prohibited whether the bodies were claimed or unclaimed. Yet the archaeological evidence from hospital burial grounds suggests the reality was very different, with the unclaimed bodies of those dying in hospitals often subject to autopsy, dissection and post-mortem surgery (Fissell 1991: 163, Moore 2005: 161, Richardson 1988: 105–106; Witkin 1997; Chamberlain 1999). Where possible, hospital patients took measures to avoid the surgeon's knife post-mortem, but their friends and family had to be vigilant and act fast as dissection or autopsy could occur within four or five hours of death. As a result, the bodies claimed by families were not necessarily spared dissection or autopsy, with incidences of families opening coffins to find the whole or part of the body missing being far from unusual (Fissell 1991: 142). The corpses of those dying in hospital were not only subject to autopsy, dissection and post-mortem surgery, they also provided a good source of pathological specimens. The contemporary catalogues of anatomical collections refer to specimens from patients treated in hospital, often by the owner of the collection (Clift n.d: 14, 18, 39).

The second group of autopsy subjects, a virtual antithesis of the first, were the intelligentsia and their families. Those with means and education, particularly with a medical background, were likely to be able to afford private physicians and be aware of potential value of post-mortems, making them more amenable to requests for autopsy (Martensen 1992: 522). The initial acceptance of autopsy by the wealthy may also have been aided by their familiarity with the corpse being opened as part of the embalming process in the 16th and 17th centuries (*ibid.* 522, Harley 1994: 6). Autopsies were performed on private patients, with the consent of their families, from the 17th century onwards with numbers increasing throughout the 18th and 19th centuries (Harley 1994: 10, Moore 2005: 231). The presence of this group can be detected to some extent in the archaeological record by examining the burial location of autopsied individuals interred in churchyards. A number were interred in vaults, below churches or in brick or stone-lined graves (Cherryson, Crossland and Tarlow in press). Burial in any of these contexts required a significant monetary outlay, suggesting that these individuals came from relatively wealthy and thus potentially well-educated families. Unlike many of the dissected, who often received no formal burial, the bodies subjected to autopsy were accorded the usual burial mores. Cultural norms were suspended for the duration of the medical procedure and then resumed, allowing completion of socially significant funerary processes (Tarlow in press).

In response to the growing disquiet about the activities of the resurrectionists and anatomists, an Act for regulating schools of anatomy was passed, better known as the Anatomy Act, in 1832 (2 and 3 Will. 4 CAP LXXV), which provided the medical profession with a far more plentiful supply of bodies – those of the poor. The New Act repealed the 1751 Murder Act and ended the three-century-old link between gallows and dissecting room. The poor are not specifically mentioned in the Act, but it permits any “party have lawful possession of the body of any deceased person...to permit the body of such deceased person to undergo anatomical examination.” Thus allowing masters of workhouses, hospital managers and Poor Law guardians to donate the unclaimed bodies of the poor to medical science (Richardson 1988: 206). With this new Act, the government had provided a more plentiful supply of bodies so reducing the need for resurrectionists, which meant those with means and a vote could rest easy in their graves, while the corpses of the disenfranchised poor were used to meet the ever increasing needs of the medical profession. In death as in life, the poor and others on society's margins were deemed by many to be expendable and unimportant.

The body as a commodity

The increasing importance of the bodies to the medical community and the necessity of ensuring a regular supply of corpses had transformed the body, either in pieces or in its entirety, to an object of exchange and commerce, at least to certain parts of society (Lineburgh 1975: 72). Bodies became objects to be crammed into sacks, boxes, cases, casks, barrels, crates and hampers like any other merchandise (Richardson 1988: 72, 2006: 156). Criminals destined for the gallows, but not the dissecting rooms, would sell their own bodies to pay for prison debts or funerary costs (Lineburgh 1975: 71, Richardson 1988: 52). Bodies were being sold by resurrectionists for profit by the early 18th century (Richardson 1988: 55). By the 1790s, one London gang was charging two guineas and a crown for adults with children sold for six shillings for the first foot and then nine pence for every additional inch (Dopson 1949: 69). Unusual corpses, rarities and special commissions cost more (Richardson 1988: 64).

During the late 18th and 19th century trade in bodies and body parts took on a form that made it comparable to other commodities, and became a routine practice in the medical community. This was not just confined to the initial acquisition of fresh corpses. Private anatomy schools would often sell dismembered body parts to students as a means to offset their running costs (Richardson 1988: 55). In addition, anatomical specimens and entire collections were sold at auction, just like any other collectable. John Hunter's anatomical collection included the skeleton of "Mr. Jeffs", who suffered from *myositis ossificans* which led to the progressive ossification of the soft tissue. Hunter had acquired the skeleton for 85 guineas when the anatomical collection of another surgeon George Hawkins was auctioned following his death in 1783 (Fig. 13.6) (Catalogue of Royal College of Surgeons). The high price of the specimen suggests there was strong competition from at least one other bidder. Surviving auction catalogues not only provide evidence for the sale of whole or fragmented human remains, but give an indication of the size of some private collections. When the collection of "an eminent professor of anatomy" was auctioned in 1787, it consisted of 1328 lots including skeletal remains and preserved soft tissue, and was sold over 13 days (Anon 1787). Similarly the remains of Joshua Brookes' Museum were sold at auction over 23 days in 1830, with lots including wet and dry anatomical specimens, pathological samples, complete skeletons and disarticulated bone, which had been "allotted in small parcels, for the convenience of professional gentlemen, artists, sculptors, students *etc*" (Anon 1830). The inclusion of artists and sculptors among those involved in purchasing anatomical specimens at auction provides a salutary reminder that the medical profession were not the only ones with an interest in human anatomy. A knowledge of the inner structures of the body was seen to be beneficial to those interested in depicting the human form, as is illustrated the appointment of the anatomist William Hunter as Professor of Anatomy at the Royal Academy of Arts in the 18th century (Richardson 1988: 37).



Fig. 13.6: Skeleton of "Mr. Jeffs" from John Hunter's anatomical collection housed at the Royal College of Surgeons, London (courtesy of the Hunterian Collection)

Attitudes towards the corpse

Clinical detachment was a necessary prerequisite for those breaking society's taboos by cutting into and fragmenting the corpse (Richardson 1988: 31). For those cutting and partitioning the body, the identity of the individual was lost with the body becoming experimental or pedagogical material. In some instances the process was aided by the methods used to obtain the cadaver, with the identity of many who ended up in the dissecting rooms being lost when they were wrenched from their graves by the resurrectionists. Depersonalisation of the individual was continued by the removal of clothing and then skin as the anatomist sought to access the internal workings of the body (Tarlow in press). The practice of partitioning the body in many anatomy schools to allow the students to work on different sections would have further destroyed the corpse's identity

as the whole was fragmented into less recognisable elements (Moore 2005: 374). Unlike dissection, the requirement for clinical histories meant that the identities of those subject to autopsy would be known to those conducting and observing the procedure. Indeed some of the surgeons and physicians present would have treated the subject in life. Clinical detachment in these cases was often achieved by the identity of the individual being subsumed by that of the pathological process. The medical fraternity's perception of the body as an object for the acquisition of medical knowledge with dissection and autopsy necessary to extract that information was not shared with the rest of society, the majority of whom had strong objections to the partitioning of the corpse for medical purposes.

The material body was an important element of a person and fragmentation represented a direct assault on the identity of the deceased (Bynum 1991: 266). The corpse resembled the body of a known, and often beloved, individual, and as such was perceived to be due the care befitting that individual (Richardson 1988: 16). Tarlow has drawn attention to the increasing importance of bodily privacy during the early modern period (in press). The opening and partition of the body by anatomists was a direct affront to this privacy and the dissection of female corpses by male anatomists and medical students was equated by many as being akin to sexual assault (Richardson 1988: 95; Rugg 1998: 48). This is reflected in the imbalance between males and females seen in a survey of autopsy subjects from 30 post-medieval sites (Cherryson, Crossland and Tarlow in press). Of the 114 adults of known sex in this sample, 78% were male. Even less common was the surgical examination of the young. Juveniles comprise only 14% of the survey sample. Perhaps parents and other relatives were reticent to subject the bodies of the young to the knife. Alternatively it is possible that many of the causes of juvenile mortality were easily diagnosed or of less interest to physicians and thus the bodies of the young were less likely to subject to medical investigations than those of adults. In some instances it appears that the investigation of a child's cause of death may have aided the parent's grieving process and potentially provided information to protect other siblings. The 18th-century anatomist, John Hunter, performed an autopsy on the ten-month-old son of a Mr Abbott, the fourth child his parents had lost suddenly at less than a year of age (Moore 2005: 235). The parents had sought out Hunter in an attempt to explain the loss of their children. Sadly, the autopsy provided no answers.

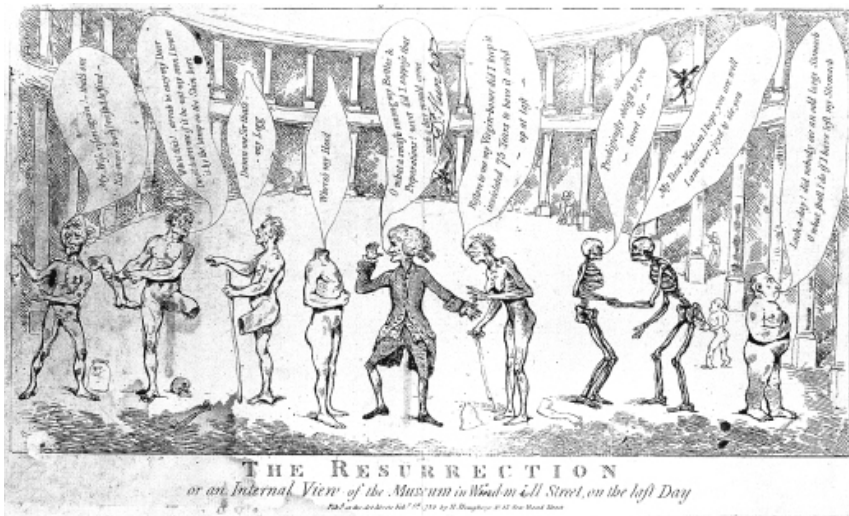


Fig. 13.7: 1782 cartoon depicting the day of Judgement at William Hunter's Windmill Street Anatomy School (courtesy of the Wellcome Institute)

Folk and religious beliefs continued to exert a profound effect on ideas about the body and its fragmentation during the 18th and 19th centuries. While the Reformation may have removed the concept of purgatory, it could not expunge its influence from traditional customs (Porter 2003: 217). In contemporary folk beliefs, the soul was thought to linger around the body after death, at least for a short time, while other mores held that the actions of friends and family could influence the soul's final destination (Porter 2003: 217, Richardson 1988: 7). There appears to have been a perception that treating the dead with due respect was a means of ensuring the fate of the soul of the deceased as well as the well-being of the bereaved (*ibid.* 17). Dissection offended moral sensibilities by disrupting the usual conventions surrounding the corpse and its disposal (*ibid.* 76) while grave robbing violated the sanctity of the grave at a time when the body and its final resting place became an increasing focus for grief and mourning (Jalland 1999: 291, Tarlow 2000: 227).

The concept of bodily resurrection was fundamental to ideas about death and the afterlife in the 18th and 19th centuries (Richardson 1988: 15, 76) and there was great concern that the fragmentation of the corpse would impact on the afterlife. Would fragmentation of the body prevent that individual's resurrection on the Day of Judgement, thus denying the subject life eternal? Contemporary views are reflected in a 1782 cartoon entitled 'The Resurrection or an internal view of the Museum in Wind-mill Street, on the last day', which depicts the Day of Judgement at William Hunter's Windmill Street anatomy school with the newly risen dead looking for their missing body parts (Fig. 13.7). Finally, the unease felt about dissection was not aided by its long association with judicial punishment (Porter 2001: 49). Until 1832 the gallows provided the anatomists with many of their subjects, thus equating the procedure in the eyes of many with criminality and the judicial process.

Conclusion

To conclude, during the 18th century the bodies of the dead became integral to the study of

medicine, both as a teaching aid and a subject of research. The body acquired a new role as an anatomical object. Moreover in order to understand the living machine, it had to be disassembled to allow its components to be examined. Partition and fragmentation of the body was essential for the acquisition of medical knowledge with the parts becoming more important than the whole. This new role for the corpse brought the new scientific perceptions of the body into direct conflict with religious, social and folk beliefs (Dale 1997: 94). In particular, this new medical role for the body challenged conventional attitudes to the body and its treatment. The body was no longer just the physical remains of an individual but a commodity to be owned, bought, sold, donated, collected and stolen (Lineburgh 1975: 72). The medicalisation of the corpse had, in effect, removed the ownership of the body from the individual and the next of kin, especially for those at society's margins such as the poor, the sick and criminals. The last few decades have seen increasing archaeological evidence for autopsy, dissection, post-mortem surgery and the retention of body parts. With this growing corpus has come a greater understanding of the nature of the partition of the body and how these "medical bodies" were treated once the medical community had finished with them.

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